by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increasingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

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I never heard a suggestion from masters or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

SUBIANS.

The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population. Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*", a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

Immigration.

Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies, which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day.

Mr. Heald writes:—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements.

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . .

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food."

Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions.

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca.

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks,

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al Bakri, known as a section of the Āl Dhubi in the Hadhramaut, is in Upper Yafa' a sub-section of the Hadhrami section of that tribe.

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Qu'ata are Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar bin Ahmed al Haddar.

CHAPTER XX.

OTHER DISTRICTS UNDER QU'AITI INFLUENCE.

In a written description of the provinces of the Qu'aiti state the Qu'aiti authorities included the tribesmen and villages of Wadi 'Amd as depending on Mukalla. The Wadi 'Amd, however, is far away from Mukalla province, and I have thought it better to mention it separately. Although this territory may not be definitely part of the Qu'aiti domains, it is certainly more under Qu'aiti influence than that of any other Protectorate ruler. Hureidha, which is the headquarters of the Al 'Attas family, is the principal town of the Wadi 'Amd. It is estimated to have about 2,000 inhabitants, and from 300 to 400 men are said to have left it in the last 20 years to seek wealth in Java. There are eight mosques in the town, and it is a place of religious teaching.

The following is a description of the Āl Ja'da, Āl Ma'di and Ad Dohm tribes of Wadi 'Amd :

AL JA'DA.

Clan.	*Section.*	*Places.*	*Nos.*
Āl Salima ...		Seila, Jidfera, Kora, and Raham in Wadi 'Amd are the important villages of this clan.	500
	Āl Bin Murda Āl Bin Halābi Āl Bin Homeid Bin Mubarek Bin Hubeish		
Āl Muhammad bin Ahmed.		Habab, Al 'Ardh, Na'ir, and Rahb in Wadi 'Amd are their important villages.	400
	Āl Bin Shemlan Bin Namara Bin Lizam Bin ash Sheiba Bin al Khashr		
Āl Bin Heilabi Āl Bin Suqeir Āl Tahir bin Rajih			
			900

The Ja'da tribe, who claim descent from the Beni Hilāl, are nearly all Beduins occupying the central and lower sections of the Wadi 'Amd. They are under the influence of the Qu'aiti who has a " B " agreement with them. The foremost section is the Āl Bin Shemlan whose leader is recognised as the head of the whole tribe. The Āl Tahir bin Rajih are a small clan of the Yafa'is sometimes known as Kharba, but they are settled in Wadi 'Amd

Clan.	Section.	Places.	Nos.	'Aqil.
619 Bin Yamāni and their slaves ...	—	Qasm	50	'Ali bin Ahmed bin Imani.
631				
101 Āl Sa'id, Bin 'Uthmān, and Āl Dahnān.	—	Al Khōn	50	'Umar bin 'Awadh bin Sa'id.
Āl Qafla, Āl Barakeiz, Āl Heithwa, and Āl Nubeid.	—	As Sōm	50	Kharif
Āl as Sa'd	—	'Asum	45	'Isa
Samāh al 'Usba	—	Al 'Usba	15	'Aidha bin 'Atūfa.
Beit Bal Hateish	—	Fughma	35	—
Āl Bin Kōb	—	Sha'b Hud	15	'Awadh bin al 'Ahīdi.
Bin Marsaf	Al Fabd	—	120	—
Ash Sheiban	5 sections	—	—	—
			847	

The Tamimi are a part nomad, part settled tribe, living in the main wadi from the neighbourhood of Tarim to beyond Qasm. They have been allied to the Qu'aiti, with whom they have an "A" agreement, for a long time, and have had a long-standing feud with the 'Awāmir and Kathīris which was terminated by the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement. The Kathīri Sultans have no jurisdiction over them but it is said that the Tamimis are allied to them for purposes of defence. Disputes between the Tarim Government and the Tamimis are settled by negotiation or Qu'aiti interference.

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● 167 311 369 438 The Tamimis emigrate to Java and the East African Coast, but they are a poor tribe. They grow wheat, lucern, vegetables, jowari, and other crops, on well irrigation. A large amount of land in the Tamimi territory is the property of the rich townsmen of Tarim and Dammūn which the Bin Silma cultivate, and they are generally safe and honest. At harvest time, however, Beduins come from across the northern hills, which are quite close to the cultivation here, settle in the groves, and do a certain amount of damage. Like most wadi dwellers from Tarim eastwards the Tamimis obtain their supplies from Shihr rather than Seihut, though Seihut sends regular caravans as far as 'Einat.

619 631 101 The Bin Qasīr clan is sometimes considered as divided into four sections, the Āl Kibl, Āl 'Awadh bin 'Umar, Bin Dahdūh, and Beit Bal Hateish. The Bin Fallūqa and Bin Sa'id bin Ahmed clan is sometimes called a section of the Ash Sheiban clan; the latter is said to be divided into five sections. The Bin Silma is said to be the strongest clan and is stated to have four sections.

619 622 The *mansabs* of the Tamimi are 'Umar bin Zein Āl 'Abdulla bin Ash Sheikh for the Āl Yamāni, Hasan bin 'Alawi al 'Aqīl, Ahmed bin 'Aqīl, Āl Matahar, Tahir bin Bubekr Āl Tahir for the Balheij, and 'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shibab for the Bin Silma.

[7 See page 72, category 116 -- Analyst]

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631
619
101

Āl Jabir.

Clan.	*Section.*	*Places.*	*Nos.*	*'Aqil.*
Āl Hāj or Āl Sāh.	Āl 'Āmr	As Seiqa	150	Mubarek bin Muhammad, Sa'id bin Salih Qahtan, and Yamāni bin 'Umar.
	Āl Yamāni	Rasib	350	
	Āl Ahmed āl Hāj	Sakrān	130	
	Balgheirān	do.	20	
	Bin 'Abūdān	'Adam	20	
	Bin 'Umar bin Sādiq.	Bāyūt	10	
Āl 'Aun	Āl Ridhwān	Husn bin Dhobān	35	Salih 'Umar.
	Āl 'Umeish	do.	35	
	Bin Hijār	An Ni'r	6	
	Bin Sultan and Bin Sa'dut.	Adh Dhieiqa and An Ni'r.	30	
Āl Hasan	Bin Bedr	Wadi Bin 'Ali	100	Salim bin 'Ali bin Bedr.
	Bin Sa'id bin 'Āmr	do.	100	
	Bin Mar'i bin' Āmr	do.	50	
	Bin Jābir bin 'Āmr	do.	50	
	Ballesqa'	do.	30	
	Bin 'Abūdān Bin Ja'fer bin 'Āmr	do.	25	
Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar.	Bin 'Ali bin 'Umar	Sāh, Gheil bin Yomein.	50	
	Āl Muteihim	Hikma	15	
	Al 'Afār	Wadi Shahūh	50	
			1,256	

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The Jābiris in the Wadi Bin 'Ali are mostly agriculturists. They obtain their supplies from Shihr. Some members of the tribe have connections in Java and Singapore, but the tribe as a whole is very poor, and owing to famine and distress many of the members, men and women, have emigrated to the African coast in search of a livelihood. The total number of the tribe has been variously estimated from 800 to over 1,000.

The sections of the Āl Hāj clan have been stated to be sections of the Āl Sāh clan which was referred to in Chapter XX. With the exception of a very few of the Āl Yamāni section who are nomads, the whole clan are settled. The Āl 'Ali bin 'Umar clan are entirely nomadic and ply their camels for hire. Seiyid Al Hasm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus has influence over the Jābir.

Besides the Kathīri and Jābiri settlements in Wadi Bin 'Ali there are a few houses of independent tribes called Āl Seif and Beni Sa'd, who do not consider themselves as in any way allied or subordinate to the Kathīri Sultans of Seiyun.

Al Bajri.

Clan.	*Places.*	*Nos.*	*'Aqil.*
Āl Quseiyer	'Ardh Būr	100	Sa'id bin Qutāmī and Salih bin Muhammad.
Āl Ahmed bin 'Ali Bin 'Awadh bin 'Abūd Bin Rattas	do.	70	
		170	

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The Bājrī live on the left bank of the main wadi at a distance of about ten miles north-east of Seiyun. They are surrounded by the tribes of Āl Kathīr and 'Awāmir. It is not universally admitted that the Bājrī are a true Shanfari tribe, but they nevertheless recognize the Sultan of Seiyun as their chief. There is a story that the Bājrī are the original inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, but that in course of time they became absorbed by stronger immigrant tribes. They are all agriculturists but their cultivation being on the left bank is very poor.

The *Mansabs* of the Āl Quseiyer are 'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and Qadir adh Dhibab. Hussein bin 'Aidarus Āl Salīla also has influence over the tribe.

CHAPTER XXIII

EMIGRATION: COLONIES OF HADHRAMIS ABROAD

There are probably few countries in the world where a larger proportion of the population lives abroad than the Hadhramaut. Between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the estimated population of the Hadhramaut lives in the East Indies, East Africa, or Egypt and the countries bordering the Red Sea.

A great number of these emigrants do not proceed abroad for good, but expect to return when they have made their fortunes and die in their native land. Fortune with them is a relative term, for while some of them amass amounts that would not be despised in America the ambition of others is far more modest, and many run only to a few hundred or a few thousand Maria Theresa dollars.

Apart from the 90,000 to 100,000 Hadhramis now living abroad there are a very large number in the country itself who have been abroad, and I have already commented on the fact that Malay and Swahili have really become naturalized languages in the country.

It is not only of recent years that the Hadhramis have learnt the habit of leaving their native homes to seek their fortunes abroad. As Schoff points out, we learn from the *Periplus* that since the earliest time they have had a view beyond their own borders. Then as now, he says, "the outlook of Hadhramaut was towards India by sea and towards Egypt by land. Bent found the same conditions: the capital full of Parsee merchants, the natives going to India, the Straits and Java, and returning when they had amassed a competence; the English protectorate accepted because of England's domination of India, in the face of the religious convictions of rulers and people (*Geographical Journal*, IV, 322). Maltzan described the Hadhrami traders in Cairo as the keenest of the lot, and spoke of their activities in the East; while the Dutch Government, finding the islands of Java and Sumatra overrun with Hadhramaut Arabs, stimulated inquiries of them in Batavia."

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167 At this time, too, they had their connection with the East African coast for the *Periplus* says that it was governed " under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that is become first in Arabia."[1]

Even in the Arabian Nights do we find reference to this emigration of the Hadhramis. As will be seen the Hadhramis almost universally maintain a connection with and an affection for their native land so that it will be of interest to give the following quotation :

" In time he reached Lahej where he found a ship ready to sail for India ; so he shipped on board and made Calicut of Malabar. Here he met with many Arabs, especially Hazramis, who recommended him to the King ; and this King (who was a Kafir) trusted him and advanced him to the captainship of his bodyguard. He remained ten years in all solace and delight of life ; at the end of which time he was seized with home-sickness ; and the longing to behold his native land was that of a lover pining for his beloved ; and he came near to die of yearning desire. But his appointed day had not dawned ; so, after taking the first bath of health, he left the King without leave, and in due course landed at Makalla of Hazramaut." (Burton, Vol. V, p. 136.)

Commenting on the passage Burton relates the story of a man who, flying from " Hazrami " society, reached the uttermost parts of China where he thought himself safe, but as he was about to pass the night in some ruin he heard a voice hard by him exclaim, " Oh 'Imad ad Din,"[2] the name of the patron saint of Hazramaut. " Thereupon he arose and fled and he is, they say, flying still."

The emigration of Hadhramis to foreign parts is therefore no new phenomenon, but its long continuance and the steady expansion of the Hadhrami communities in other countries, to which probably the brake applied by the recent depression is only temporary, is not without significance in considering the future of the country. Not only is it probably responsible for the more open and receptive atmosphere in the Hadhramaut but it is also probable that it has a considerable bearing on the growing desire in the country for peace and good government.

[483] There is a further point. Although the Hadhramaut could no doubt produce more under proper guidance the resources of the soil can never make it wealthy, and the item of invisible exports to the extent of £630,000 annually represented by remittances of money into the country is not to be neglected.

114 The first systematic attempt to examine the position of Hadhramaut colonies abroad was made by Professor Van den Berg in his noteworthy study on the Hadhramaut and the Arab colonies

[1] Stigand says (*Land of Zinj*) that the Arabs call Pate, Bata and derive the word from a tribe named Batawe which left Hadhramaut and settled in Pate.

[2] Probably 'Amud ad Din *vide* Chapter XVII.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

n the Indian Archipelago, published in 1886. In this work, which in Part 1 contains a remarkably full account of the country and the people by one who had never set foot in it but had learnt more about it than anyone who had, the author examined in great detail the Arab colonies in the East Indies. He comments on the fact that when an Arab established in the Indian Archipelago sees that one alone no longer suffices for his business, he engages in preference a young man of his family or of his tribe. This is the reason why in all the Arab colonies the majority of the immigrants are from the same part of the Hadhramaut. Thus he says the greater number of Arabs in the Indian Archipelago originally hail from the main wadi between Shibam and Tarim. The inhabitants of the Wadi Du'an prefer to go to the colonies in Aden, Jedda, Suakin, or Cairo. The people of the coast choose British India, above all the coast of Malabar and Hyderabad. The Beduins, he says, rarely leave their country.

The situation is much the same to-day. As regards the East Indies the majority of the emigrants to Java are from the Āl Kathīr, though the inhabitants of Tarim and Wadi Hajarein (particularly the towns of Badra and Haura), and the tribes of Nahd and Ja'da are also represented. The Singapore community originates principally from the towns of Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, and the Nahd tribesmen. Turning to East Africa the majority of the immigrants are from the Tamimi tribe, the Bā Haidera, and the tribes of Hajr. Zanzibar has a close connection with the ancient town of Shihr, and for this reason Hadhramis in the Protectorate are almost universally referred to as Shihiris. The Red Sea contingent is recruited mainly from the Wadi Du'an, and Du'anis are found in Egypt, Jedda, Abyssinia, and the Sudan. There are also a few from the Wadi Hajr in Jedda and from Shibam and the Nahd in Abyssinia and Sudan.

Although the general tendency is for the Hadhramaut colonies abroad to be recruited from particular places in the home country it will be observed that there is some overlapping, and this is due to the great extension of emigration and to the fact that there is nowadays more movement in the interior of the Hadhramaut. The Nahd tribesmen, notably, have many of them become almost townsmen, and living largely in the main wadi are in frequent touch with different parts of it.

There is yet another important contingent of Hadhramis abroad to be mentioned and this consists of those in the service of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti authorities informed me that this contingent amounts to 5,000 or 6,000 in number, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are Yafa'is, mostly with Hadhramaut connections. There are also many Hadhramaut tribes represented such as the Nūwah, the Ja'da, and even the Sei'ar. The command of the Nizam's bodyguard is held by the Sultan of Mukalla as hereditary Jemadar. This does not exhaust the list

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

167 of Hadhrami colonies abroad, though it includes the most important. Hadhramis are almost ubiquitous in the near east and in the south-western parts of the Indian Ocean. I know of some in Madagascar and in the Comoro Islands.

While the general tendency of recruitment of the Hadhramaut colonies abroad is as above stated, it is not to be taken that these colonies are recruited exclusively in the manner indicated. Thus I know of Sei'ars who have been to East Africa, and I know of Kathīris who have been to both East Africa and Java. Years ago I had a boy from the town of Tarim in my service in Zanzibar. We found occasional Swahili-speaking people all over our route. The fact that in the Manahil and Mahra parts of the main wadi I met men who had been in East Africa is perhaps due to the fact that the former of these people are neighbours of the Tamimi, and that the latter are continually travelling down the wadi to Seihut. The connection of Seihut and Qishn with East Africa which I also observed seems to be purely from a seafaring point of view. Further east in Murbat in the Dhufar Province of Oman the connection with East Africa is historical and the Swahili I heard spoken was spoken by Swahili slaves. There were also examples of this in the Hadhramaut.

Another change to be noticed from the time of Van den Berg's report is that the Beduins have to some extent taken to emigration. In this respect the case of the Sei'ars is considered remarkable even by the people in the country. Living well off the beaten tracks away to the north of the main wadi, and separated from the sea by miles of country inhabited by people to whom the word Sei'ar is anathema, I think it indeed does call for comment that these people are now not only going down to the sea in ships as passengers but as sailors.

000 It will be of interest now if we consider the life and activities of the Hadhramis in their adopted countries. With a view to obtaining up-to-date information on this point enquiries were addressed to the Governments of the various countries concerned as to the numbers of Hadhramis resident in the territories under their administration, whether they were increasing or decreasing, their occupation, their trade with the Hadhramaut, whether they coalesced with other members of the community, and generally the part they played in the life of their adopted countries. An enquiry was also made as to what proportion of them permanently severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

The thanks of the Residency have been addressed to the Governments of the Straits Settlements, the Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and to His Majesty's High Commissioner for Egypt and H.M's. Consul General at Batavia, for the interesting reports they have forwarded. I am also indebted to Captain B. W. Seager, Frontier Officer of the Aden Protectorate and formerly pro-Consul at Jedda, for information regarding the Hadhramis in the Hejaz.

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Trade and Occupations.

In the Appendix to this note will be found statistics in regard to the trade between Zanzibar and Aden during the years 1932-4. No separate record is kept in respect of the merchandise with which these notes are mainly concerned (i.e., merchandise transported by Hadhramis themselves in dhows), but the following table furnished by the Comptroller of Customs gives a very rough estimate :—

Imports.	Per cent.	*Exports.*	Per cent.
Fish, dried	90	Clove and clove stems ...	20
Ghee	100	Coconuts	100
Salt	75	Simsim (re-export) ...	95
Tobacco, native ...	50	Coconut oil	100
Cotton manufactures ...	60	Iron and Steel manufactures	100
Medicines	100		
Sugar	100		
Colour materials ...	100		

As, however, it is understood that most of the dhows plying between Zanzibar and the Hadhramaut enter and leave the ports of Mukalla, Seihut and Shihr (imports and exports in respect of which are presumably included under the separate and general head "Arabia") without touching the port of Aden, the foregoing information can be of little value.

It may be said generally, however, that the non-settled elements of the Hadhrami population, who move backwards and forwards between their homes and the Protectorate for the purpose of trading, bring with them, when they arrive in the north-east monsoon, such articles as clothes (loin cloths, etc.), honey, henna, dried fish, salt, ghee, livestock, dates and shark oil (sifa), some of which are obtained en route on the Somaliland coast. A number of the visitors, having disposed of their goods, return to the Hadhramaut a few months later in the south-west monsoon taking with them locally grown millet; others, finding employment, stay on for two or three years or more until they have accumulated sufficient money—two or three hundred rupees or so—to return to their homes.

The latest Zanzibar Census (1931) does not include statistics in regard to the occupation of the people, but the directions in which the Hadhramis find employment are indicated in the 1924 Census, relevant extracts from which are contained in the Appendix to this note. It will be observed that the commonest occupations were the following, in the order mentioned: General traders, labourers, water carriers, private servants (no occupation), other occupations, Government employees, fishermen, and gold and silversmiths. Included in the list are of course the Hadhrami coolies, stevedores,

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coffee-shop and small store keepers, and itinerant coffee vendors who are so much in evidence, while particular mention should also be made of the shark and dried fish dealers, the dealers in baskets (*vikapo*) and mats (*majamvi* and *makanda*), and those engaged in the meat trade between Zanzibar and the African mainland ports (especially Kismayu, Lamu and Dar-es-Salaam), in all of which occupations the Hadhramis have almost a monopoly. It is of interest to notice here that the meat trade was almost exclusively in the hands of the Hadhramis as long ago as 1876 (Christie). Fishing and hawking are practised by the Shihiris alone, while basket and mat making is confined to the up-country natives. Fitzgerald writing in 1898 (*Travels in B.E.A., Zanzibar and Pemba*), states that the making of mats (*makanda*), which were used for the exporting of grain, was confined to the Shihiris and the Gunias (Bajunis).

Although, formerly, the Hadhramis owned many clove and coconut plantations and much house property in the Town of Zanzibar, they now have little property of either kind. It is probable that much of it has passed into the hands of Indians.

Political and Social.

Absorbed in trade and the accumulation of money, the members of the Hadhrami community are comparatively indifferent to politics and are therefore not important factors in the political life of the Protectorate. Although hot-tempered by nature, they are as a rule law-abiding and loyal, giving little trouble to Government and seldom appearing in the Courts. During the years 1923 to 1928, however, a series of affrays occurred in most, if not all, of which the Hadhramis are known to have been the aggressors. The victims of their attacks were successively the Baluchis, the Khoja and Hindu Indians, and the Muscat and Suri Arabs. The last and most serious disturbance occurred in 1928 when fighting between the Hadhramis and the Omani Arabs continued intermittently for four days during the course of which four persons were killed and some 30 wounded. Nasir bin 'Abdulla al Kathīri,[1] the chief ringleader, and others were subsequently deported. There has been no further trouble.

In 1926 a split occurred in the community, the majority following Nasir bin 'Abdulla (Hadhrami, see above) and the minority Sa'id 'Abûd al Humeid (Shihiri). The rival factions were only prevented from coming to blows by the intervention of the Sultan.

[1] Nasir 'Abdulla is an example of a Hadhrami who emigrates to more than one of the people's favourite hunting grounds abroad. After he and his deported companions had appealed, with the support of His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan, but unsuccessfully, against their removal from Zanzibar he migrated to Java, whither migrating Kathiris mostly direct their steps, and returned to Mukalla in December, 1934. He has now gone back to his tribe.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB1
Arabs

CHAPTER XXIV.

HADHRAMIS IN THE EAST INDIES.

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Netherlands East Indies.—From the point of view of numbers and wealth the colonies of Hadhramis in the East Indies easily come first, and for this reason I am particularly grateful for the detailed report forwarded through the Acting Consul General by Dr. L. de Vries, Deputy Adviser for Native Affairs to the Government of the Netherlands East Indies.

Dr. Vries has given so fully the history of the growth of these settlements that it is hardly necessary for me to refer back to Professor Van den Berg's book, and for this reason I do no more than give the statistics of Professor Van den Berg which show the distribution of the sexes.

Colony.	*Arabs born in Arabia.*		*Arabs born in East Indies.*			*Total in 1885.*	*Total in 1870.*	*Total in 1859.*
	Men.	*Children.*	*Men.*	*Women.*	*Children.*			
Java and Madura	1,852	66	2,092	2,384	4,494	10,888	7,495	4,992
Sumatra ...	573	17	2,311	2,567	4,145	9,613	4,917	2,776

The Sumatra figures were not exhaustive and in addition it was estimated that there were perhaps another 220 in places from which figures had not been received.

I now give Dr. de Vries' report in full.

" 1. *Total, increasing or decreasing.*—The Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies, almost without exception come from the Hadhramaut so that the following particulars, principally referring to Arabs in general may be held to apply to the Arabs, resident here, coming from the Hadhramaut.

The oldest Arab settlements in the Netherlands-Indies were established two and a-half centuries ago in Sumatra (Siak) and in Borneo (Pontianak); the settlements in Palembang, Java and Madoera date from a later period. Raffles reports in his " History of Java " the existence of an Arab colony in the town of Grisee, where to this day they form an important group of the population. Full figures of the number of Arabs at that time are, however, not known; they could not have been numerous. The oldest complete figures are recorded by the Government Census in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1860 there were nearly 9,000 Arabs counted in the Netherlands-Indies and after a great increase in 1900 there were three times as many. Since 1900 the increase is still greater; the average yearly increase during the period 1920-30 was 4·7 per cent against scarcely 3 per cent. between 1905-20 and 2·7 per cent. in the preceding period between the Government's census.

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Total of Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies.

Year.	*Total.*
1860	8,909
1880	16,025
1885	17,250
1890	21,640
1895	24,410
1900	27,399
1905	29,588
1920	44,902
1930	71,335

This accelerated increase in the last ten years cannot be accounted for by an equally great increase in the total of immigrants. The annual total number of immigrants was indeed higher in these years than in the preceding period but the total number of new-comers to the country in the period 1921-30, 7,000 in all, does not weigh much against the total increase of about 26,000 souls, because a number of these new-comers are eliminated either by death or departure.

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The chief cause of this accelerated increase must be sought in the rising birth-rate for the children of immigrants who have nearly all established themselves for good and founded families here.

This may be seen by studying the life figures of the whole population group of Other Foreign Orientals which group undoubtedly reflects, in its main lines, the figures for the Arab community.

Total of Arabs with their families permitted to enter the Netherlands-Indies.

1900–1933.

Period.	*Total.*
1900–1903	1,367
1904–1907	1,958
1908–1911	1,793
1912–1915	2,186
1916–1919	1,066
1920–1923	2,612
1924–1927	2,377
1928–1931	2,882

Year.	
1921	538
1922	701
1923	454
1924	444
1925	490
1926	567
1927	876
1928	895
1929	1,036
1930	485
1931	466
1932	287
1933	231

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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This is not merely a phenomenon of recent times; formerly also Arab immigrants for the most part settled for good in the Netherlands-Indies. Thus there are now many Arab families who have lived in the Netherlands-Indies for generations and have proportionately become more numerous. In this " nucleus " group and amongst the children of new-comers' families there is a natural equality of men and women. These groups are so large that the entire Arab community, " nucleus " immigrants' children together with the almost solely male immigrants, has a lesser shortage of women than the other non-indigenous population groups in the Netherlands-Indies, and this has also been the case in former years. Among the European population the excess of males over females was only reduced in 1930 by the recently increased immigration of European women.

The gradually rising birth-rate for immigrants' children and for children of Arabs themselves born here, has produced a very large group of minors who will, in due course, when they become adult, greatly exceed the present numbers of middle-aged adults. An increase in the procreative capacity of the Arab population group is therefore to be expected and thus also, after some time, a corresponding increase in the Arab population group.

2. *Occupations.*—The Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies come almost without exception from the Hadhramaut. The principal means of subsistence of most Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies is trade, in various forms, and principally trading in batiks and sarongs. Pekalongan and Sole are the centres of their batik trade. Some, like the Chinese, do business in haberdashery in Middle and East Java. Like the Chinese they also form a link between the European retailer and the native. They try to hawk various goods for large profits amongst the native population. This, however, is usually very risky for them. They deliver goods generally to the less substantial buyers on easy payment terms. Bankruptcies occur often among the Arabs. Then their insolvent estates must be saved by the College for the Administration of Intestate Estates (Wees- and Boedelkamer). Many Arabs are money-lenders either openly or in a disguised form. The coastal trade with sailing ships was formerly largely in Arab hands; but this now means little to them. Agriculture, handicrafts and occupations for which a certain education is essential, are only in exceptional cases carried out by them. There are also among the Arabs some wholesale merchants, landowners and estate-owners; the latter own extensive landed property and tea estates.

3. *Trade with the Hadhramaut.*—So far as we know there are, generally speaking, no trade relations between the Arabs in the Netherlands-Indies and the Hadhramaut. The only close contact with the Hadhramaut is through their families there; they regularly send money and other necessities for their maintenance.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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H 563 582 871 I 563 658 4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

H 798 I 798 671 5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.* The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several " fatwas " or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

H 167 641 186 I 641 6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.* None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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manner of living to the necessities of this country. They consider the Hadhramaut only the land of their ancestors."

Straits Settlements.—As regards the Straits Settlements Van den Berg gives some statistics which will serve as a comparison with the present day state of affairs.

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"In the English possessions on the peninsula of Malacca the first census of Arabs is that of 1874; the last which has been published by the Colonial Government is that of 1884.

1874.

Province.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Singapore	189	111	165	465
Malacca	81	87	135	303
Penang	106	106	110	322
Wellesley	11	8	13	32
Total	387	312	423	1,122

1884.

Singapore	445[1]	165	225	836
Malacca	70	71	86	227
Penang	163	158	200	521
Wellesley	21	14	18	53
Total	699	409	529	1,637

"The English statistics make no distinction between Arabs born in Arabia and those born in the Indian Archipelago.

"As for the Arab colonies in English possessions, the most ancient is that of Malacca. but it is decaying, like the town itself, since the foundation of Singapore in 1819. It consists at the present time almost entirely of half-castes, the majority of whom are poor. Those who had the means and energy left the town to settle at Singapore. There is found at present the most flourishing, though not the largest, Arab colony in all the Indian Archipelago. It is the point by which all Arabs pass who go to seek their fortunes in the extreme East. Also the number of new arrivals there increases each year. It is the same with the Arab colony of Poulou Penang, although much inferior to the preceding. In the English possessions the Arabs have no chiefs of their own nationality; they are placed under the direct orders of the European authorities."

He also gives the following information regarding the wealth of the Arab immigrants in Singapore. Those having an annual income of 600 to 3,600 florins were estimated at 90, from 3,600 to

[1] From information collected by myself in person, this figure is much too high. There are, at most, 200 adult Arabs actually settled at Singapore. I think it is possible to explain the figure of the official statistics: persons passing through Singapore on their way to Dutch possessions must have been entered in the registers.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
[Straits Settlements] Malaya AN1

12,000 at 50, and more than 12,000 at 15. To-day the estimated number of the community in Singapore is 580, made up as follows :—

Born in Hadhramaut		*Born in Singapore.*		*Children above 10 years say*
Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	
120	20	160	180	100

The females born in Singapore are of mixed race with Arab, Malay, Javanese, Bugis, and Chinese blood. It may be presumed that this remark applies to some of the males born in Singapore and most of the children.

The number of Hadhramaut Arabs in Singapore to-day is about 10 per cent. less than in 1925. This reduction is attributed chiefly to the slump which caused some members of the community formerly resident in Singapore to move to neighbouring countries, and principally Java. The Hadhramis in Singapore are principally occupied as

1. House, land, and estate proprietors.
2. Kain Batik (cloth) dealers.
3. Miscellaneous professions including importers of merchandise from Arabia.
4. Brokers.
5. Religious teachers and *Imams*.

The community for its size is the wealthiest in Singapore owing to its large holdings in house, land, and estate property. Lee Warner (Geographical Journal, March 1931) says that "whole streets in Singapore and Penang are owned by wealthy Hadhramis, mainly of the Kathīri tribes" The community, probably owing to the religious objection to interest, invests its profits in land and house property.

The 13 principal individuals or families represented in Singapore own property valued at 21,400,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to about £2,544,000. Out of this amount the wealth of one family is estimated alone at 10,000,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to nearly £1,170,000. Two other fortunes also run into millions of dollars.

Trade with the Hadhramaut, or more accurately with Arabia, is not carried on on a large scale. It is confined to: *Exports:* cloth (Kain Batik), sandalwood, incense, crockery, and brassware. *Imports:* ghee, honey, Arab incense, native medicines and herbs, rosaries, and Arab coffee.

Regarding the part played by the Hadhramis in local affairs the information given is that the Hadhrami-born element does not take much interest in local social life or politics, but confines itself to its own groups. These people are conservative, good business men, respectable, dignified, and patriotic to their own country of origin and law-abiding to their country of adoption. They confine their interests to money making and religious exercises and maintain

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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close relations with the Hadhramaut. One Hadhramaut-born Arab, Sheikh Salim bin Muhammad Bin Talib al Kathīri, is a Justice of the Peace.

The younger generation of Singapore-born Hadhramis are said to take more interest in local social life than in business. They are more interested in merry making than in money making and do not possess much character nor love for their country of origin. Like the young Arabs in other countries they appear to have fallen victims to the easier side of modern influence, and have become Malayanised and not of much use either to the country of their origin or to that of their adoption. Amongst them of course are members of an older, pre-War generation, born in Singapore and like the old Hadhrami-born Arabs maintaining a proper loyalty to both countries. Two of these are Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Sheikh al Kaf and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Juneid al Juneid, both of whom are Justices of the Peace.

CHAPTER XXV.

HADHRAMIS IN EAST AFRICA.

Kenya Colony and Protectorate.—The Kenya Non-Native Census Report for 1921 stated that Arab settlement in the country had gone on for centuries and that there was still a steady influx of Hadhramaut Arabs which was to be encouraged. "They are", says the report, "a virile, industrious, and thrifty race, and some authorities maintain that the regeneration of the coast is dependent on their efforts." Nine hundred and twenty Arabs, or 8·7 per cent. of the Arab population of Kenya, of whom 688 were males and 232 females, returned themselves as Hadhramis, but 1,347 other gave Arabia as birthplace. It was considered safe to assume that practically all of them were from the Hadhramaut or born in Kenya. As regards their occupation the Arabs showed themselves the most independent of any non-European race, for 67 per cent. of them were working on their own account. More than half the Arab males were traders and such women as were employed were classified Industrial. Many Hadhramis were employed on *hamali* transport and as water sellers. Commenting on this the report says the two trades beloved of the Shihiri Arabs still survive in spite of the competition of the motor lorry in the former case, and in the latter of the installation of a water supply.

The District Commissioner of Mombasa states that there are today approximately 5,000 natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr in this district. There has been no change in their numbers during the past five or six years. Their principal occupations are water-carrying, coolie work, and petty trading. There is practically no trade with Hadhramaut. A number of them intermarry with other communities, and some families are permanently settled in the country. There was a time when they monopolised coolie work, but in very many cases they have been replaced by Africans.

1:Ingra.. s G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Kenya FL 1
Tanganyika FN 1

H 167 It is a pity, he says, that for some years past almost all immigrants from Hadhramaut and Shihr have not been of the type that could be said to be of any economic value to the country. Many K 167 are professional beggars and almost all are of the type that only remain in the country to earn a few shillings and then return to their country.

H 167 457 K 167 Particularly undesirable temporary immigrants are the "Sheriffs."[1] These people visit the country once a year and besides collecting as much money as they can from their people, they are a positive danger inasmuch as they invariably foment discontent and ill-feeling between their own communities. Some settle down and live on others, doing no work themselves.

457 The families permanently settled here are loyal and law-abiding. They own property and keep their money in the country. There was a time when very good families used to immigrate to the country. The immigration of natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr dates back to the time when the Sultan of Zanzibar used to import them as soldiers guarding the Forts.

K 162 167 182 439 H 167 The District Commissioner of Lamu reports that the number of Hadhramis in the district is approximately 1,500. There does not appear to be any increase apart from the natural internal increase which is not very large. They find employment in most walks of life, particularly as cultivators and petty traders. They seem to be very hard working and ambitious and undertake most work with the object of eventually owning a small shop. They have no trade with the Hadhramaut. They coalesce readily with other members of the community and share the general life of the Arab population of Lamu. They are more recent arrivals in Lamu than the other Arabs but they exercise a definite influence on the community and are gradually becoming more and more prominent in the general life and institutions of Lamu. It is estimated that over 90 per cent. of them have permanently severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

T 162 167 H 167 *Tanganyika Territory.*—There are said to be at present from 2,000 to 3,000 Hadhramis living in Tanganyika. They are scattered amongst the coastal towns of the Territory chiefly, and are mostly engaged in trade as small shopkeepers and sellers of dried fish, etc. A number of them intermarry with local Africans, but otherwise they do not coalesce with other members of the community.

186 H 167 186 So far as can be ascertained, only a very small proportion of them have permanently severed their connection with the Had-

[1] This probably refers to tithe collecting Seiyids as all the Prophet's descendants in the Hadhramaut are of the line of Hussein. It is interesting to note that they follow their flocks so far afield. I met a *mansab* of this nature in Seihut who had been to Mombasa.

hramaut, and even though they may live in the Territory for many years, they visit their own country when possible and send their children there to school.

Zanzibar.—Writing of his visit to Zanzibar in 1857 Burton (*Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast*, Vol. 1, p. 378) says, " the poorer Arabs who flock to Zanzibar during the season are Hazramis, and they work and live hard as the Hammals of Stamboul. These men club and mess together in gangs under an Akidah (head man), who supplies them with rice, ghi and scones, and who keeps the accounts so skilfully, that the labourer receives annually about $35, though he may gain four times that sum."

Speaking of the same period Colonel Rigby, His Britannic Majesty's Consul and Honourable Company's Agent, says in his report on Zanzibar for 1860, " a considerable number of Arabs from the Hadhramaut coast also come to labour as porters and carriers, they are a patient, industrious people, and most useful to the merchants in loading and unloading ships."

This was high praise from Rigby who was critical, and contrasts in a remarkable manner with his next statement about immigrants from Sur further along the coast. " The Arabs from the coast of Omān called ' Soorees ' are also numerous; they are a troublesome, turbulent, plundering race always ready for any mischief. They are filthy, squalid, ill featured savages and arrant cowards."

Major F. B. Pearce, a late British Resident at Zanzibar, wrote in 1919 that the Hadhramis formed an important section of the Arab population of Zanzibar. " In physical appearance, pursuits and mode of life they differ somewhat from the Oman Arab. The Mshihiri[1] is a thin, spare man of medium height, without an ounce of superflous flesh on his body. His face is long and thin and generally hairless; and those of them who have not resided sufficiently long in Zanzibar to become enervated by its softening climate and surroundings possess a marked glitter of the eye, indicative of hidden fires within, which might burst forth on little provocation.

" Under the normal conditions of life in Zanzibar they are hard and willing workers, keeping much to themselves, and living together in a special quarter of the town.

" While some of the more influential and wealthier Mshihiris have made Zanzibar their permanent home, the majority come to the Sultanate for a period in order to earn money, and they then return to their own home in Arabia. When in Zanzibar they work in the port loading and unloading ships, and they are in great demand as stevedores up and down the coast. The lighter forms of labour sought for by the Mshihiri is water carrying from house to house, and they perform this work with the same assiduity and ~~tirelessness as in the heavier labour connected with ship~~

[1] The singular of the Swahiliised form of Shihiri, the plural is Washihiri.

Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM 1

tirelessness as in the heavier labour connected with shipping. They also make all the matting bags, baskets and coverings required for the packing of cloves.

"The Mshihiri community possesses its own mosque and burial ground in Zanzibar. In religious views they differ from the Oman Arab by adherence to the Sunni belief."

My friend, Mr. G. H. Sheiswell-White, has written a long and detailed account of the Hadhramis in Zanzibar which has been forwarded by the Zanzibar Government. He begins his note with a historical introduction and after touching on the earliest times already covered above, proceeds as follows, quoting Dr. Krapf (*Travels in Eastern Africa*, 1860).

> "Among the most important phenomena in the early history of Eastern Africa must have been the intercourse kept up with it by the inhabitants of the Arabian sea-board. The southern coast of Arabia must from the earliest period have been necessarily connected with Eastern Africa by the wants of its inhabitants. From Eastern Africa the Arab of the coast derived his corn, his rice, his Durra, his wood, his ivory and especially his slaves."

Although, as has already been stated, there appear to be few specific references to the Hadhramis, their connexion with East Africa must have been at least as intimate and as long-standing as that of any of the other inhabitants of Arabia. Zanzibar Hadhramis, indeed, claim that their ancestors were the pioneers of colonization in East Africa, although according to the Chronicles of Kilwa the first Arab settlers were the Ammu Zeid, the followers of Zeid, son of Hussein, great-grandson of the Prophet. The Hadhramis also claim to have been responsible for the spread of the Sunni sect in these regions.[1]

Throughout their long connexion with East Africa, the Hadhramis doubtless took a large share in the great slave trade in regard to which the Report of the Select Committee on the Slave Trade of the East Coast of Africa, 1871, stated :—

> "The whole slave trade by sea, *whether for the supply of* the Sultan's African dominions or the markets in Arabia and Persia, is carried on by Arabs from Muscat and other parts of the Arabian Coast."

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[1] Remembering the South Arabian states of the "Waqt al Jahiliya" the claim to pioneership is justified. I have seen a reference to the conversion of the East African Coast at a very early date, but on this subject see Guillain, Vol. I, p. 161, and my *Zanzibar*, p. 77.

It must be remembered that according to Masudi the Hadhramaut was still Ibadhi in A.D. 944 and until Al Mehajir's descendants established themselves, the country was always backsliding.

The Hadhrami has never been a too exacting missionary abroad, which is probably one reason why he gets on so well.

The Ammu Zeid were of course Shiites and the Zeidis still rule in Yemen.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1

In 1876 the Hadhramis were described (Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa*) as being the largest slave holders in Zanzibar and it is stated that they were entirely dependent upon them for their livelihood. It was, in fact, amongst the slaves in the household of a Hadhrami living in the quarter of Malindi that the great cholera epidemic, which subsequently swept over the island and thence to East Africa, began in 1869.

But it was not only in trading that the Hadhramis occupied themselves. From at least the first half of the nineteenth century until comparatively recent times many of them entered the service of the Sultans as soldiers and Government officials (especially treasurers, clerks, Liwalis and Qadhis). Guillain, writing in 1856, says that the Sultan maintained a fairly large number of Hadhramis in the garrisons of Africa and Omān, while in 1877, at the time when Lieutenant (later General) Lloyd Matthews was called in by Sultan Seiyid Barghash to reorganise his army, the Seiyid's forces consisted almost entirely of Persians and Hadhramis (Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 1905). In modern times the Hadhramis have maintained their reputation as soldiers, for a large number from Zanzibar joined the Arab Rifles during the Great War. Guillain also mentions that Hadhramis were very largely employed as porters ("*hamalis*") and estimated their floating population in Zanzibar at three or four hundred. In addition, Shihiris were employed for many years as captains and officers in the Sultans' ships.

Vital Statistics.

The 1931 Census gives the total Hadhrami[1] population of the Protectorate as 2,797 made up as follows :—

	Zanzibar Island.		*Pemba Island.*
Zanzibar Town and Native Quarter	1,313		1,333
Districts	151		
	1,464		1,333
Total for Protectorate		2,797	

Of the population in the Island of Zanzibar, 621 are recorded as having been born in the Protectorate and 843 elsewhere. Corresponding figures for the Island of Pemba are not given. It seems clear, however, that the returns are inaccurate for, by common consent, it is not likely that the population in Pemba exceeded two or three hundred (see also 1924 Census, in the Appendix to this note). It should be remembered that as their women rarely emigrate, Hadhramis who settle in the islands mostly marry local

[1] Both in the 1924 and the 1931 Census Reports the only relevant classifications used are "Arabs" and "Shihiris." As, however, the term "Shihiri" when used in Zanzibar frequently denotes the up-country native as well as the coastal inhabitant, it is assumed that the term, as used in the Reports, includes all natives of the Hadhramaut.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1
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women with or without Hadhrami blood, so that a large proportion of those included in the Census returns as Hadhramis were by no means of pure stock.

It should also be borne in mind that the major portion of the community in Zanzibar consists of visitors whose number varies with the season, the maximum population occurring during the north-east monsoon (December to March) when the visitors arrive by dhow, and the minimum during the south-west monsoon (May to October) when they return to their homes in Arabia. The 1931 Census was undertaken at the end of March so that the figures given may be taken to represent the maximum population during the year of the count.

According to the 1924 Census, the total Hadhrami population of the Protectorate was then 2,406, but as this Census, although begun on the 11th March, was not completed until the 23rd May when some of the seasonal visitors may already have left the Protectorate, inferences cannot be drawn in regard to any increase or decrease in the population which may have occurred during the period 1924 to 1931. It is said, however, that both the settled and the non-settled elements are decreasing.

Further official statistics in regard to the Hadhrami population are not available. A local estimate, however, places the number of those who are permanently settled in the islands at 200 Hadhramis and 400 Shihiris.

The chief tribes represented in the Protectorate are, in the case of the Hadhramis, the Tamimi, Kathīri, Yafa'i, and Hashimi (Seiyids); and, in the case of the Shihiris, the Masheikh Āl Bā Humeid, 'Awābitha, Bin Sahaq and Ba Ziheir.

In the Township of Zanzibar, where the great majority of them live, the Hadhramis are concentrated for the most part in the quarters of Kiponda and Ngambo, while the Shihiris, just as in 1876 (Christie), reside in the Malindi quarter. The non-settled elements either rent lodgings or are accommodated in the houses of those who have made the Protectorate their home.

The leading members of both sections of the community are as follows:—

Hadhramis.—Muhsin Ghalib Al Yafa', Seiyid 'Abdulla Ba Harūn, 'Abdulla Mubarek at Tamim, Muhammad Sa'id Ba Abdo, 'Umar 'Abdulla Jurnah, 'Abdulla Ahmed Ba Fadhl.

Shihiris.—Muhammad Sa'id Humeid, Mansur Abeid Barkot, Salim Khamis Salimin, Mubarek Ahmed Ba Seif, 'Abdulla Muhammad Ba Salāma, Naqib Abdur Rab bin 'Umar Kasadi, Muhammad 'Awadh 'Ubulān, Faraj 'Awadh 'Ubulān.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1

The affairs of the community are managed by two associations— that of the Hadhramis (Junia' al Hadhramia) and that of the Shihiris (Juania' Ahl as Sahil)—which also endeavour, as far as possible, to compose differences between individuals. The leading personalities in the associations at present are Muhsin bin Ghalib al Yafa' of the Hadhramis and Muhammad Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid of the Shihiris. Both are semi-officially recognised by Government as the heads of their community.

The clannish feeling of the Hadhrami prevents him, in Zanzibar as in other countries, from mixing with the members of the other communities any more than is necessary for the purpose of his trade or calling. He keeps much to himself and, as a rule, takes little part in local life, political, sporting or social. Even his intercourse with his cousin from Oman is restricted. The language difficulty is no doubt partly responsible in the case of those who are not permanently settled in the Protectorate, but even those who have made Zanzibar their home appear to learn the local language less readily than other foreign elements of the population, and they exhibit the same disinclination for social intercourse with their neighbours. Hardworking and thrifty, unlike their cousins from Omān, and absorbed in their own occupations, they appear to have few forms of entertainment even amongst themselves, dancing and sitting in coffee-shops being almost the sole manner in which they seek relaxation, at any rate in public.

In Zanzibar there is an increasing tendency, especially amongst the younger Arabs and Africans, to adopt European clothing. The Hadhramis, however, are little affected by the prevailing fashion, and it is rare to see one of the community attired in anything but his own national dress. As in the case of clothes, so in his manner of living; the Hadhrami, preferring his own customs, does not easily adopt the manners and ways of those around him.

The women of the Hadhramaut have always felt a striking aversion to emigrate and, as has already been noticed, it is but rarely that the Hadhrami will bring his wife or female relations to Zanzibar. Even girls who are born in Zanzibar and are taken back to their homes in Arabia seldom return to the Protectorate after attaining puberty. Few of the children born locally, therefore, are of pure stock. As a rule, marriages are not contracted in Zanzibar by those who are not settled on the islands, although liaisons of a temporary kind are frequently entered into, particularly with African women. Those who are more or less permanently settled normally marry members of their own community, but they occasionally seek brides from amongst the Muscat Arabs, the Comorians and sometimes even the Africans.

The diet of the Zanzibar Hadhramis naturally consists, as far as possible, of those articles of food to which they are accustomed in

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1
Z
563
262
H
167
186
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778
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439

their own homes. It includes fresh and salted fish and shark, wheat porridge (*Shurba* and *Haris*) millet, rice, meat, dates, bread, milk, coffee, and tea.

Places of worship are normally shared by both Hadhramis and Shihiris alike, but in practice the Hadhramis mostly congregate in and largely control the Juma's and Mzaham Mosques and the Shihiris the Malindi Mnara Mosque. One burial ground is, on the other hand, used by both sections.

APPENDIX

TRADE BETWEEN ZANZIBAR AND ADEN FOR THE PERIOD 1932–1934.

	Trade Imports and Direct Transhipment Total.		Domestic Exports, Re-Exports and Direct Transhipment Total.	
	Quantity.	Value. Rs.	Quantity.	Value. Rs.
Cloves ... ... cwts.	...	...	3,486	117,708
Clove Stems ... ... cwts.	...	...	44	188
Fish, dried ... ... cwts.	9,325	67,454	75	600
Fruit, fresh ... ... cwts.	...	...	2,295	8,697
Ghee ... ... lbs....	3,520	1,420	...	...
Salt ... ... lbs.	1,295,802	8,917	...	...
Tobacco, manufactured ... lbs.	...	...	125	337
Tobacco, Native ... ... lbs.	3,920	1,471	...	...
Coconuts	...	...	12,865	276
Sim Sim ... ... lbs.	...	...	156,535	9,777
Miscellaneous	...	433	...	...
Instruments, Scientific and Surgical, etc.	...	...	1	628
Cotton, manufactured	...	1,404	...	...
Silk, manufactured	...	7	...	...
Mats, etc.	...	133	...	...
Chemicals ... ... cwts.	...	...	72	6,600
Medicines	...	6	...	...
Stationery ... ... cwts.	4	341	...	...
Books	...	4	...	...
Goods, manufactured	...	66	...	50
Sugar ... ... cwts.	27	386	...	...
Food and Drinks	...	...	...	152
Coconut oil ... ... lbs....	...	...	27,313	4,584
Garlic ... ... cwts.	18	172	...	...
Iron and Steel, manufactured tons	...	...	...	428
Bags and Sacks ... ... doz.	...	...	16	80
Colour materials ... ... cwts.	2	117	...	...
		82,331		150,105

Imports	Rs.	82,331
Exports	„	150,105
Total Trade ...	Rs.	232,436

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1
Egypt MR1

1924 Census: Hadhrami population of Zanzibar by occupations.

	Zanzibar Island.	Pemba Island.	Total.
General Traders	387	19	406
Labourers	203	5	208
Water carriers	200	5	205
Private servants	172	3	175
No occupations	112	13	125
Other occupations	56	6	62
Government employees	43	2	45
Fishermen	41	2	43
Tailors	37	4	41
Cultivators	2	25	27
Landowners (clove and coconut properties only)	16	7	23
Masons	5	5	10
Carpenters	4	5	9
Overseers	8	1	9
Sailors	8	—	8
Brokers	6	—	6
Gold and Silver Smiths	—	3	3
Weeders	—	3	3
	1,300	108	1,408
Females[1]	443	97	
Boys under 12	210	63	
Girls under 12[1]	139	46	
	2,092	314	
Total for Protectorate ...	2,406		

[1] Probably almost entirely of mixed blood (see page 155).

CHAPTER XXVI.

HADHRAMIS IN EGYPT AND THE COUNTRIES BORDERING THE RED SEA.

Egypt.—Most of the Hadhramis in Egypt settled there over half a century ago, starting business in a very small way. Being by nature a prudent and thrifty race they gradually became successful merchants and accumulated fortunes. Formerly they were the only wholesale merchants in Egypt dealing in South Arabian produce.

It is estimated that there are between 400 and 500 Hadhramis in Egypt, including women and children. The community is rather smaller now than in the past. In Cairo the Hadhrami colony lives for the most part in the Gamaliya District near Sayedna El-Hussein Mosque. They are for the most part well-to-do people trading in the produce of Aden and the Hadhramaut, coffee from Yemen, and Syrian soap. The principal occupation is that of coffee or incense merchant. No Egyptian goods are exported by the community to the Hadhramaut, but sums of money representing profits and other

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Egypt MR1
Arab Sudan MQ1

E 162 surplus funds are remitted there annually. In this way the H 167 members of the community maintain a very real connection with their country of origin. A good deal of real property is owned by 457 the community.

H 167 The number of heads of families resident in Cairo is estimated at from ten to twelve, mostly merchants. There are also about half a dozen students. The numbers are understood to have E 162 decreased in recent years, as, owing to business depression, several of the merchants have returned to the Hadhramaut. There appears to be no organisation of the community as such in Cairo, 167 there having been no officially recognised Sheikh for many years. The members therefore tend to mingle with other Arabic-speaking communities and frequently marry Egyptian wives. The children of such marriages born in Egypt are naturally brought up in Egyptian ways and thus become scarcely distinguishable from Egyptians. But although they are much Egyptianised the Hadhramis in Egypt do not appear to be much concerned with political matters. Amongst others the al Kaf, Bazara, Baghafar and Banaga families are represented.

Hadhramis registered at the British Consulate General are as follows :—

Number of heads of families	9
Total number of children in these families ...	11
Total number of single men	18

All the children were born in Cairo, and all the wives are of Egyptian origin, except one from the Hadhramaut and one from British Malaya.

The professions given include :—

Merchant	15
Estate Manager	1
Technical Student	1

H 167 *Sudan.*—There does not appear to be an extensive Hadhrami community in the interior of the Sudan. It seems that there is only one in Khartoum who is permanently settled there and runs an eating house. In Omdurman there are two from the Hadhramaut and six from places like Nisab and Balhaf on the western borders of the Hadhramaut. In this small community there are representatives of all the professions undertaken by Hadhramis abroad. There is a merchant who lives on the rentals of his property, there are small traders and there is a porter. About a third of them have definitely severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

AS 162 At Port Sudan there is an important Hadhrami merchant of 167 the Safi family who has offices in Port Sudan and Suakin. The Acting Commissioner states that Colonies of Hadhramis exist at

H 167

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Arab Sudan MQ 1

Port Sudan, Suakin and Tokar, with small groups at Halaib, Akik and Karora. Approximate figures are as follows :—

Port Sudan	180
Suakin	228
Tokar	294
Halaib	4
Akik	30
Karora	6
	742

They fall roughly into two categories, namely the permanently settled, who have been in these parts since the old days of Suakin, and have to all intents and purposes severed their connection with Hadhramaut, and the visitors, who normally spend about three years in the Sudan between visits of about a year's duration to their homes. The division between the categories is roughly half and half. In the towns, the Hadhramis are primarily shopkeepers or shop assistants. A few work as cooks, bakers and labourers, and in Tokar Delta many have taken up cultivation. Some have become allottees of Government land, that is virtually land owners. There are 37 of these. Others, numbering about 150, work as " nusf " cultivators, that is they work another's land in return for half the profits and hope in due course to become allottees themselves.

They do not coalesce to any noticeable degree with the local population. The settled Hadhramis principally intermarry among themselves, and show a small natural increase. The visitors occasionally intermarry with local inhabitants, principally the girls of the " Khasa ", that is the rank and file of the Beni Amer whose social status both before and after marriage is low. The majority either have wives in the Hadhramaut or are unmarried. There is a surprisingly large number of bachelors. None of the 30 residents of Akik is married. The visitors, therefore, as applications for entry to the Sudan are only granted very sparingly, show no noticeable increase. Relations with the Hadhramaut are virtually non-existent among the settled Hadhramis. The visitors, as stated, frequently visit their homes and many like to return and spend the evening of their days there. Commercial relations with the Hadhramaut are negligible if not non-existent.

The Hadhramis are an industrious and economical people and their profits, which are probably considerable, are taken out of the country by those who return home. They do not use banks but hoard silver or (if they can get it) gold, and carry it out in this form. They are a quiet and law-abiding people and give little trouble to anybody. They are clannish in the extreme and never employ a native if they can find a fellow-countryman. They have a local reputation for meanness, in which respect they certainly

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Arab Sudan MQ1
Saudi Arabia MJ1

H 186 AD 563

compare unfavourably with the Hedjazi and the Yemani. All are on the make, and quite prepared to start at the bottom and work up.

H 167 SA 555 426

Saudi Arabia.—Writing about the year 1885, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje (Mecca, Leiden, 1931) says that the Hadhramis in Mecca are among the most serious competitors of the Indians in the money-lending business. " These come to Mekka almost invariably without money, but endowed with great adaptability and endless endurance. No sense of honour hinders them from making their choice of trade or situation accord solely with the advantages that circumstances offer. Many have begun as heavy porters in Jeddah where the guild of porters carries on the whole traffic between town and harbour : some of these porters become rich men. In Mekka, they, in the first place, seek situations as day labourers in some trade. Thus they gain local and technical knowledge of which they as soon as possible make the most on their own account ; a 14-year old boy who has earned some 25 dollars at once puts 20 of them out at interest, and such small loans often bring in one hundred per cent. even though the time for which the money is lent is only a few months."

H 871 167

But the dubiously respectable profession of disguised money-lending was not the only occupation of Hadhramis in the Hejaz. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramaut supplied many professors and quotes as eminent amongst them the " almost dwarfish Muhammad Sa'id Ba Beseil " who acted as Amin al Fatwa to the Sheikh al Ulema. At that time the Hadhramis had " from of old " their own Sheikh who transacted business between the local government and his countrymen. Generally speaking the learned doctor gave it as his opinion that religion plays no part in the wanderlust of the Hadhramis, and other observers have made the same comment.

Emigration to the Hejaz, however, was, and no doubt is, for some, in a different category. Many students go there to study and Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramis being brought up in a poor, cultureless land regard the great town of Mecca as a modern Babylon. Those who have a taste for learning derive from the holiness of Mecca blessings not to be found in the Hadhramaut. Immigrants soon adapt themselves to Meccan customs and consider the change a progress.

SA 162 167 H 167

Captain Seager estimates that there are about 5,000 Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia to-day. They live mainly in Jedda and Mecca. A few are to be found in Medina but it is doubtful whether they exceed a total of 30 souls. It would be true to say that since 1930 the Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are decreasing in numbers. This decrease is no accident. Since the advent of the general economic depression, Hadhramis have found it more and more difficult to earn a living in Saudi Arabia. The finances of the country have been shaky for the past four years and money is naturally scarce. This has badly hit the shopkeeper class and by far the greatest

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Saudi Arabia MJ 1

number of Hadhramis are shopkeepers with the result that increasing numbers have elected to return home or emigrate to countries where prospects are somewhat brighter.

In normal circumstances a number of them are annually attracted to India and a greater number to the Straits Settlements and Dutch East Indies. A lesser but increasing number proceed to Massawa and Mogadisho.

The Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are almost exclusively (*a*) shopkeepers, (*b*) merchants either in a big or small way, (*c*) money-changers and money-lenders, or (*d*) domestic servants. The shopkeepers are by far the most numerous and it can be said with a degree of accuracy that every other shop (usually stocking cigarettes, matches, spices, cereals, paraffin, etc.) is owned by a Hadhrami who somehow manages to live on next to nothing, and gradually, over a period of years, collects a sum of money which will enable him to return to the Hadhramaut and live in peace and comfort from three months to four years. After this period the Hadhrami will bestir himself and return to his occupation once again. In his absence, a brother, cousin, relative or fellow tribesman will act for him.

The merchant class is divided into two categories: (1) the big and well-to-do merchant with substantial capital, and (2) the smaller merchants with very limited capital. Category (1) with very few exceptions have taken up their abode permanently in Saudi Arabia. and for the most part have taken up Saudi nationality. This class generally invests its money in immovable property in Saudi Arabia. One Hadhrami in Jedda, for instance, owns about 120 houses, some of which are quite imposing buildings. Category (2) rarely take up their permanent abode in Saudi Arabia and do not change their nationality. They try to make a living in a small way, and, like the shopkeeper proceed on leave to the Hadhramaut when they have collected enough money for themselves and bought presents for their relatives. The Hadhrami money-lenders and money-changers did a roaring trade up to 1930 but the Government then stepped in and clipped their wings. A number of them went out of business and took up shopkeeping and trading.

The domestic servants are the poorest class. The domestic Hadhrami stays in Saudi Arabia from one to ten years. His wages are small, but like the shopkeeper he saves, scrapes and economises until he is in a position to proceed on furlough to the Hadhramaut. Some of the domestic servants are luckier but they are in the minority: if it should happen that they are employed by persons of means their future is well nigh assured. Their employers allow them to trade in a small way and eventually in the course of years they separate from their masters and set up on their own with quite a substantial capital. It occasionally happens that prominent Hadhramis are given official posts. During the Hashmite regime a Hadhrami (whose family is permanently domiciled in Saudi Arabia) was King Hussein's Minister of Finance. The Saudi Government

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Saudi Arabia MJ 1

SA 641 while excluding Hadhramis from official posts sometimes call them in as advisers and members of committees.

SA 563 The Hadhramis have a flair for getting on with all classes of the community. In Saudi Arabia they keep well in with the local Government, and, if it comes to a tug-of-war between the British H Legation (representative of the Protecting Power) and the Saudi Arabian Government the Hadhrami takes good care to side with ●167 the Government. It is very rarely that a Hadhrami seeks the good offices of the British Legation in Jedda in any kind of dispute. If a Hadhrami elects to be very brave he puts up his case tentatively as he fully realises that his life is bound up with the life of the country and that he cannot afford to earn the hostility of any other sections of the community. Generally speaking, the Hadhrami, when he is not working day or night, spends his time sitting on a fence and very ably sums up a position before taking a plunge. The British Legation in Jedda finds them irritating at times as they never know from one day to another whether they are and wish to be considered as British Protected Persons or whether they are British Protected Persons and wish it kept a very dark secret.

It is probable that apart from the big merchant class—and they do not number more than 45 families—it is only on the very rarest occasions that the Hadhramis sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. The Hadhramis are like homing pigeons and find it difficult to stay away from their native country longer than a period of ten years.

H 167 *Aden.*—There are a considerable number of Hadhramis in Aden of whom about 40 are of importance. Du'an is most largely represented with members of the families of as Safi, Bazara, Bā 'Ashin, Bā Shanfar, Bā Sūdān, Bā Quhum, Bā Suleimi, Bā Tawīl, Bā Sindua, Bā Sam, Bā Hakīm, Bā Hamish, and Bā Juneid. From Shibam the families of Bā 'Ubeid and Bā Jarash are amongst those represented. Other families are Bā Fadhl, al Haddād, Bā 'Abbād, Bā Yusuf, az Zūeidi, and Barahīm. Of the Seiyids represented the principal family is the Āl 'Aidarus. The greater number of these important Hadhramis are merchants and traders.

There is a small but important community of Hadhramis in Abyssinia where the Seiyids of Bā Harūn and al Bār from Du'an have business connections.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HADHRAMAUT

HAROLD INGRAMS

INTRODUCTION

To the Arab geographers the Hadhramaut is a province of South Arabia, to the west it remained until 1934 an imperfectly explored part of the peninsula with the chiefs of which Great Britain had had treaty relations since the end of the nineteenth century. From 1934 till the present time it has been my good fortune to explore it, to live in it and to be associated with its political development.

Politically it consists of six treaty areas, the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, the Kathiri State of Seiyun, the two Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the two tiny sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura. Juridically all these treaty chiefdoms are of the same status, but the premier chief is the Qu'aiti Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla who has the title of Highness and a salute of eleven guns, and after him comes the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun with a salute of nine guns. Until the nineteenth century the Kathiris had been for some centuries the ruling dynasty of the greater part of the country depending for their power on foreign mercenaries, most of whom were Yafa'i tribesmen from the mountains of the lower Yemen. In course of time these mercenaries became more powerful than the Kathiris and from them arose two dynasties, first of the Kasadis and then, conquering them and much of the Kathiri country, the Qu'aitis.

The Hadhramaut is essentially a desert region, with a negligible and uncertain rainfall, in which the inhabitants have from a respectable antiquity evolved elaborate systems of irrigation to make the most of their limited water and infertile soil, on which they have probably never been able to support themselves. But as the Hadhramis are commercially an enterprising people they have for as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, a matter of rather more than 2,000 years, lived on trade. The ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade: when that went by sea they learnt to emigrate and for centuries now the Hadhramis have gone abroad to earn money in the countries bordering the Red Sea, in East Africa, in India and most of all in the East Indies. One in every three or four Hadhramis is always abroad, generally temporarily for it is always their ambition to return home, and the largest colonies and the largest fortunes are found in the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java. The community in Singapore is small but wealthy.

Until 1937 the principal feature of their life in their own country was chronic internal strife, for despite their ability to amass money abroad from house property, by trade—mainly in piece goods—by money-lending,

3 Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

State	Title of ruler	Population	Area in sq. miles	Annual revenue	Police	Salute
Qu'aiti (Mukalla) ..	H.H. the Sultan of	197,000	30,000	Rs 27,50,078	Unlisted	11 guns
Kathiri (Seiyun) ...	Sultan of	60,000	6,000	Rs 4,80,000	Unlisted	9 guns
Wahidi (Balhaf)	Sultan of	25,000	5,000	Rs 1,02,448	Unlisted	None
Mahri (Socotra & Qishn)	Sultan of	22,000	23,000	Unlisted	Unlisted	9 guns
Haura	Shaykh of	300	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
'Irqa	Shaykh of	350	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Abdali (Lahej)	H.H. the Sultan of	41,400	4,500	Unlisted	380	11 guns
Fadhli (Shuqra)	Sultan of	25,000	2,500	Rs 4,17,697	120	9 guns
Amiri (Dhala)	Amir of	27,000	1,050	Rs 1,50,000	75	9 guns
Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara)	Sultan of	23,000	700	Rs 1,65,000	30	9 guns
Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba)	Sultan of	89,000	900	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar)	Sultan of	12,000	2,500	Rs 49,000	40	None
Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab)	Sultan of	53,000	1,800	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Beihan (Beihan Qasb)	Amir of	13,000	4,000	Unlisted	40	None
Audhali (Lodar)	Sultan of	10,000	1,000	Unlisted	30	None
Haushabi (Musaimir)	Sultan of	10,000	350	Unlisted	29	None
Alawi (Al Qash'a) ..	Shaykh of	1,200	89	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed).	Shaykh of	2,000	101	Unlisted	Unlisted	None

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Kathiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In 1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

however. The floor of the Hadhramaut Valley rises at a slope of 1 in 900 or 1000 from an altitude of 2000 feet at Tarim to about 3000 feet in the latitude of Shabwa and the west end of the tableland.

The observer in the Hadhramaut is impressed by the vast amount of rapid erosion that has taken place and the inadequacy of the rain-

FIG. 1—The Hadhramaut, Aden Protectorate, in its wider strategic relations. Scale 1:40,000,000.

fall of today to explain it. Not only topographical but also cultural evidence points toward increasing aridity in the Hadhramaut. The numerous visible ruins, not to mention those buried by sand or disintegrated past recognition, are indicative of a greater population than now exists. A large number of the present-day inhabitants emigrate; and, according to Mr. Ingrams, they have been doing so at an increasing rate during the last fifty years.[1] It is suggested that the Hadhramaut area supports about the maximum population under the prevailing conditions of rainfall.

Each of the canyons excavated by the Wadi Hadhramaut and its tributaries in the vast South Arabian plateau suggests to the traveler a miniature Grand Canyon. The walls rise steeply for a full thousand feet throughout the deepest part of the drainage system and remain perpendicular, although decreasing in height, even to the heads of the smallest tributaries. To the observer on the ground the plateau

[1] W. H. Ingrams: Hadhramaut: A Journey to the Seiʾar Country and through the Wadi Masila. *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 88, 1936, pp. 510–531; reference on p. 525.

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

FIG. 23—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general active, especially the nursing, which has been introduced by Hadhramis emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to provide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

Emigration and Immigration

Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley, were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and whole-hearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla.

631 [167]

The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory.

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So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others.

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There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and

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9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

731 getting food from abroad in war-time, the loss of money from the Far East, and the drought, famine ensued. I am thankful to say that owing to the generous help of His Majesty's Government and to the breaking of the drought, conditions are now much better, but from the point of view of this survey the thing to be remembered is that in all probability the produce of the country cannot sustain much more than a quarter of the population and that it is very largely dependent on money from abroad. Of old, the ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade, so that the Mediterranean countries provided the cash. When the incense went by sea the Hadhramis learnt to emigrate, and the present Hadhramaut has drawn its cash from the Far East, East Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia [67] —the countries to which the people migrate. One out of every three or four Hadhramis lives and works abroad. Emigration or means to earn money abroad is an absolute essential to the Hadhramaut, and there are grounds for fearing it is not going to be so easy in the future as it has been in the past.

So much for the gloomier side of the picture. In 1938 I described to the Royal Central Asian Society how a three-year peace embracing the whole of the Hadhramaut had been made and how the organization of government had started. To my mind the brightest thing about the Hadhramaut is the way the Government of the Qu'aiti State has advanced and developed social services, and, serious as the famine was, principally in part of the Inner Hadhramaut, out of it has grown a number of educational and medical developments which would probably not have matured if there had been no famine. The State Government had so far advanced by the time it came, that it was able to cope with difficulties and there developed a real spirit of service. It could not have managed on its own resources if His Majesty's Government had not helped so generously, but what the state could do in a financial way it did and the service its officials gave could not have been provided without it.

652 178 At the time when reorganization of the Government[1] started about seven years ago the revenue was about Rs. 6,30,000, of which Rs. 3,10,000 were spent on Government services; Rs. 2,25,000 of that went to irregular soldiers and to slaves. This year the revenue is estimated at just under Rs. 15,00,000. On April 1, 1939, there was a general deficit of Rs. 40,000, because the late Sultan used to take all the cash he could to India. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit balance of Rs. 14,00,000. In this year the Government is preparing to spend Rs. 16,00,000, of which Rs. 4,00,000 goes to the maintenance of security forces. There are forts, with soldiers or gendarmerie, and garrison towns all round the country, so that security is very greatly improved. The Budget also includes, under various heads, about Rs. 300,000 for relief work direct and indirect. The amount paid on education has risen from Rs. 6,000 in 1934 to Rs. 154,000 in 1944. Only Rs. 5,550 was spent on medical work in 1934; in 1944 the sum was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary services.

641 178 It seems to me that these figures indicate, more clearly than anything else can, progress and the will to progress. I cannot give many details of new developments, but I will mention some of them quite briefly. One of the most striking things is the growth of reciprocal confidence between

1 [of the Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Yemen ML1

the better-class houses there is a great deal of comfort. I do not think there is any oppression of the Jewish community, and within the limits of the sumptuary laws they are properly treated. There is a natural feeling of resentment on the part of the Jews against the sumptuary laws. On the other hand, they are much more lightly taxed than are the Arabs as Muslims. The reason why they are popular as immigrants into Palestine is no doubt that they fit in well and are welcome as very good citizens. In the western area of the Hadhramaut, too, they are felt to be very valuable citizens. In Yemen, like all other citizens, they lose their property if they leave the country. The law is that only Yemeni subjects can own immovable property in the country, and if anyone leaves the country with the intention of acquiring another domicile he ceases to be a Yemeni subject.

ANOTHER MEMBER: I have been told that King Ibn Sa'ud got teachers to supply his schools from the University of el Azhar in Cairo. Can the lecturer tell us whether it has been possible to follow a similar plan in the Hadhramaut? It seems a pity that a Westernized form of education should be brought in.

Mr. INGRAMS: In the Hadhramaut the improvement in education has been due to local enthusiasm and to several teachers from the Sudan. Great care has been taken in drawing up the educational programme to make it conform with the natural cultural traditions of the country. The seiyids are nervous of Westernized education, and it is all under the direction of Arabs in an attempt to strengthen the old culture of the Arab world while assimilating what is useful from the West.

Dr. HUZZAYYIN: Although time has not allowed the lecturer to develop that side of his subject, Aden has great possibilities as a meeting place. If we could build up an Arab centre there, we could have a wedding of Arab and British culture.

The CHAIRMAN then expressed the very warm appreciation of the audience and their thanks to Mr. Ingrams for his lecture and the really beautiful photographs by which it was illustrated.

A JOURNEY IN HADRAMAUT

This article, originally printed by the Royal Geographical Society of the Netherlands, has been translated from the Dutch.—*Ed.*

101 Hadramaut is a part of Arabia about which very little is yet known. It was celebrated in antiquity as the land of frankincense and myrrh, and the great trade route from India to the ports of South Arabia and thence through Hadramaut, Yemen and Nejran to Egypt and Syria, brought prosperity and culture. Lying on the border of the Sabæan and Minæan kingdoms, Hadramaut appears to have adopted many of their civilizing elements, and yet to have maintained its own independence. After the decline of the Sabæan kingdom and the civilization which flourished there, Hadramaut also sank into poverty and ignorance. In this respect Islam appears to have brought but little change. After the destruction of 167 the irrigation works, the poverty became terrible, and 735 the country was scarcely able to provide a meagre subsistence even for a very small population. Even centuries ago this led the most enterprising of the men to seek for themselves a better livelihood in foreign lands. 167 The men of Hadramaut wandered off to the east coast 186 of Africa, to the countries around the Red Sea as far as Egypt, to British India and to the Dutch East Indies. Their women never went with them, and the men remained firmly attached to their poor, dry and intensely hot native land. In foreign lands the people of Hadramaut have preserved their own characteristics up to the present day, and have never become assimilated to the peoples among whom they lived, endeavoring to return at some time to their native land, and sending their male children to Hadramaut for their education, if they could

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadramaut MM2

afford to do so. It is difficult to understand what it is that binds them so firmly to their poor, monotonous and scorching rocks and deserts. Their fanatical Mohammedanism is certainly an important factor, but so is also their love for their ill-favored country, and the intuitive perception that the preservation of their group and of its characteristic attributes is closely connected with the hard, frugal and primitive ways of living in their native land.

In those regions to which the people of Hadramaut emigrate they usually have a much larger part in the economic life of the people than their numbers would justify. This is particularly the case in the Dutch East Indies, where they have an increasingly important place as business men and as owners of land and houses, as well as being students of religion and promoters of orthodox Islam.

It was very natural that about the year 1880 the government of the Netherlands Indies recommended the agent for Arabian and Mohammedan affairs to make a special study of Hadramaut and of the people who had come from that part of Arabia to the East Indies. The book written by this officer, Dr. L. W. C. van den Berg, "Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien," was published in 1886 at government expense. This year the Department for Foreign Affairs urged its representative at Jeddah to attempt a journey in Hadramaut for a diplomatic and economic survey. This preliminary report is the result of that request.

Dr. van den Berg wrote his book in Batavia, and never went to Hadramaut, but he got his information with the help of intelligent men from Hadramaut with whom he had intimate connections. He even made a sketch-map of the country, which was printed with his book, and for this the information these men supplied was of course indispensable. This sketch-map of course had many defects, but Hadramaut has been visited so little by scientific explorers that even this year van den

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited. 508

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation. 509 205 206

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden. 131 161 162

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north. 311

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. 439 226 241

From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations 182 [167]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brakes. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim.

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a local saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think does anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats.

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *mansab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from considerable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. I remember when I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams."

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun, and down the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

663 fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

712 This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

556 I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut,
• 167 and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are
[86] owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their
342 love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

the South coast and separated from it by a mountain range, the country of Ḥaḍramaut. The name occurs already in the Book of Genesis; in ancient times Ḥaḍramaut was famous for its exports of incense and myrrh; ruins and inscriptions from pre-Muhammadan days bear witness to a past greatness and prosperity.

This prosperity of bygone days has, through all manner of unfavourable circumstances, given way, centuries ago, to a pitiable decline. It is true that Islam found an early entrance here and that Muhammadan science has, amongst a certain class of the population, zealous devotees, but the political discipline of this religion has not succeeded in creating Ḥaḍramaut into a realm of peace. The endless tribal wars, which divide the people, make the land practically inaccessible to foreign visitors, even if they are Muhammadans, and at the same time prevent the inhabitants themselves from extracting from their native soil what it could yield to a peacefully labouring population. Because the Ḥaḍramīs are not lacking in ability, which often attains rich maturity under more orderly conditions, many of them have for centuries swarmed to the Yemen, Egypt, Syria and, during the last three centuries especially, also to India and Netherlands India. Of all parts of the Arabian peninsula, Ḥaḍramaut is pre-eminently the land of emigration.

In Netherlands India they have even, in earlier times, succeeded in founding sultanates (e. g. Siak, Pontianak), but now they content themselves with trade and money transactions. Some of them, having become wealthy, return to their own country, but others prefer to enjoy, away from the disturbances of Ḥaḍramaut, the pleasures that are there unattainable. Millionaires are also to be found amongst this fluctuating population of Netherlands India, which numbers seventy to eighty thousand souls. Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg, adviser to the Netherlands India Government, in 1886, published a book, which, besides statistics of the Ḥaḍramī settlement in the East Indian Archipelago, contained also a description of the native land of these immigrants, compiled from information collected from them in Java. In the 19th

167 century, attempts to become acquainted with this remarkable
114 land, through personal investigation, were not lacking, but these efforts did not yield the desired results.

114 In his chapter on the exploration of the "Southern Borderlands" Hogarth calls Ḥaḍramaut "the most important part of the borderland, the ill-known inner region of the centre" and says of it that it "long remained the despair of the curious in the history and geography of Arabia". Intrepid travellers such as Von Wrede, Hirsch and the Bents have contributed much to our knowledge of the littoral with its roadsteads of el-Makalla and esh-Shiḥr, which has to be passed in order to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut Proper; here has developed lately a fairly vigorous autocracy, which is practically under British protectorate and which puts no great difficulties in the way of European visitors. But though the authority of the Sultan of al-Makalla also extends over a small part of the hinterland, Ḥaḍramaut Proper falls outside its scope, and most of the princes and princelings there, who are at loggerheads with one another, are not very kindly disposed towards him. The aforementioned travellers therefore scarcely, if at all, managed to cast a hurried glance over a small section of that mysterious valley-complex. He who succeeded in reaching a Ḥaḍramī town, was speedily ejected and might deem himself lucky to have escaped with his life. A quiet visit to the inhabited part of the country being thus beset with difficulties, it was even more out of the question for them to investigate the secrets of the Well of Barhūt, that accursed, temporary resting-place of the souls of the Unbelievers, from which, so it was fabled, poisonous gasses belched forth; or to make a pilgrimage to the pre-Muhammadan sanctuary, which is regarded by the Ḥaḍramīs as the tomb of the pre-historic prophet Hūd.

After faithfully reviewing what Von Wrede, Hirsch and the Bents did and what they did not accomplish, Hogarth was right in concluding with the observation that "Hadramaut has yet to be visited by any one so well protected and so

24:Meulen and Wiarnann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

CHAPTER I.

THE DEPARTURE.

ADEN—MAKALLA.

We owe our journey to Ḥaḍramaut to a mission entrusted to us by the Netherlands Government. Later it will become clear how deep-lying the contact is between Ḥaḍramaut and Netherlands India, and how self-evident it is that the Dutch Government should wish to make itself accurately acquainted with the social and political conditions in the native land of the tens of thousands of Arabs, who form such an important element in the social fabric of that country. The Ḥaḍramis are not absorbed into the union of Indonesian peoples, and many of them keep a firm hold on the connection with their own country, in the hope that some day they may be able to return there, to await the Day of Resurrection and Judgment in that hallowed ground. The charge entrusted to Dr. van den Berg to write his book, which was published by the Government of Netherlands India, resulted from the practical needs of that Government with regard to the heterogeneous peoples of Indonesia. So also with the mission entrusted to me.

Although I knew how difficult it had been made, until now, for a Christian and Westerner to penetrate into the land of the fanatical Ḥaḍrami, yet I had some hope of success in the attempt, and this for two reasons.

The years that I had spent in the civil service of Netherlands India had given me the conviction that the Ḥaḍrami is grateful for the treatment which he receives there from our Government and for the opportunities which he has to save money and to get on in the world. As a government official of Netherlands India I had not reckoned in vain on finding a welcome among the Ḥaḍrami families having relations with Indo-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been monopolised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was considered to be their partisan, an impression which had been still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

system of drinking- and at the same time cooling-bowls, among poor and rich alike.

Our host spoke with longing of beautiful, rich Java and of the good years that he had passed there, and it was obvious that he would have liked to return there but for leaving his family behind, for the Ḥaḍramī woman does not leave her country with her husband. It was clear, from the friendly farewell, that I had not been wrong in thinking that my years passed as a civil servant in Netherlands India would facilitate my travels in Ḥaḍramaut.

They all went a little way with us to see us off and were photographed at their own request. We followed the broad *sēl*-bed [1] crossing the plateau surrounded by terraces of about 300 feet high. There, where the plateau ends, lies, at a height of 50 feet the village of Ḥimem on a hill at the edge of the wādī to which it gives its name. At the foot of the hill, there are very tall coco-nut trees, the last that we shall see for the time being, for the altitude is already 3000 feet. A conduit full of water, fed by little springs at the edge of the wādī, irrigates fields of *dhura* and of neatly-planted and well-cultivated tobacco. It is true that it is not first-class Ḥumūmī tobacco that is raised here, but even so it commands a good market price.

The evening falls and we are obliged to camp soon after leaving Ḥimem. The valley has here penetrated into the sandstone and the conglomerates under the eocene limestone. Here at a height of 3000 feet the nights are already cold. According to our Bedouins, who are good water-tasters, the water also improves in proportion as one gets further away from the coast; all salt and bitterness gradually disappears from it.

In our bivouac at Ḥimem we had to put away again a great harvest of plants and insects; the swallow-tail butterfly was also found here.

The mayor of Ḥimem came to visit us in our camp. He told us that his village of 200 to 300 inhabitants grows tobacco,

[1] The bed through which the water flows for a short time after rain.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)193. M42 Hadhramaut MM2

622 At the castle we found Bā Ṣurra again seated between two
623 sons, in the midst of his counsellors and the Bedouin chiefs;
162 there are also present some soldiers somewhat in the background, the grandsons and other offspring in our vicinity, and the slave who makes the tea.

The old *Ḥākim* and his family are photographed in a large group on the terrace close to the *madjlis*. Then begin long conversations in which our endless questions are patiently answered. Bā Ṣurra himself tells us that the whole of Wādī Dō'an and its tributary, Wādī el-Ēsar, are under his jurisdiction. In about fifty villages there are 20.000 inhabi-
871 tants. There are only two small schools, both of them founded and maintained by that remarkable sayyid of Terīm, Abū Bakr bin Shēkh el-Kāf. It is certainly extraordinary that this leading personage of the Āl Kathīr district should be the founder and supporter of most of the schools in the territory of el-Qe'ētī. Many of the schools in Makalla and esh-Shiḥr are also due to el-Kāf's generosity. Khurēba, the old centre of Wādī Dō'an, has a school with seventy to eighty pupils, and the other is in Qēdūn, with from twenty to fifty pupils.

346 There are in Bā Ṣurra's province nearly 200 mosques, some
● 167 among them very fine ones, which are often the property of
556 rich sayyids and connected with their houses. The fortunes of these rich men are always made in foreign lands. Every district of Ḥaḍramaut has its own particular countries to which its people emigrate in swarms to make money; from Wādī Dō'an they go to Abyssinia, the coast towns of the Red Sea, and the coast of East Africa. Barely a hundred have gone out from here to Java, though from Wādī el-Ēsar, on the other hand, quite 500 have done so.

162 There are also 1500 Bedouins under Bā Ṣurra's jurisdiction,
622 among them the whole Sēbān tribe from the Qibla region (*i. e.* from the North). The chief of the Deyyin tribe, 'Uthmān bin Muḥammad el-'Amūdī, the ruler in Rēdet ed-Deyyin, is

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

for themselves in each other's unwashed cups. Our host devotes himself entirely to us; he frequently absents himself to see that preparations are made for a meal without delay. Sounds of music and song reach us from the women, who are making merry in the adjoining room. In spite of the sweltering heat, the song with its refrain, the concerted clapping of hands and dancing to the monotonous music are carried on with great enthusiasm. Our host invites us urgently and repeatedly to spend the night with him. Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who is with us, has, however, so great a longing to see his family in his own country that, on his account, we decide to start for el-Meshhed in the afternoon. Meanwhile our delicately solicitous host has quietly had a room made ready in a distant corner of the great double house. He sees how tired we are and whispers to us to follow him so as to escape from the interest and curiosity of the constantly changing visitors. These fellow townsmen, against whom one cannot protect oneself, will not penetrate into this quiet room; we can stretch ourselves out on the floor on the simple mats and rugs, and our host will see to it that we are not disturbed for an hour. Then the meal is brought up to us without a sound, and we are only awakened when the yellow-coloured rice awaits us, ready served in flat dishes, on the round eating-mat, along with dishes of boiled mutton and gravy. A round flat bread-cake lies in front of each of our places on the mat. Our host apologizes for the scarcity and simplicity of the food offered to us, but we fall to with a thankful "In the name of Allah." The practice of spicing the rice and meat very strongly must have been introduced from Java and India. They overdo the seasoning to such an extent for foreign guests that, after the first pangs of hunger have been appeased, it is a real effort to continue eating.

Our host speaks Malay by preference and likes to talk about Cheribon on the north coast of Java, where his family rose to prominence and where he hopes to return in a few months, after the date harvest. His father possesses 20 houses

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-8 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

169 there. He knows as many as 150 men who have gone from
556 Hadjarēn to seek their fortunes in Java. The little town has now at most 3000 inhabitants. Before we leave, I have to look at the Dutch passports of our host and his relations, make a note of their adresses, and promise to look them up later on in Cheribon. They have fully earned any small attention from our side; we stand amazed over the simple, genuine kindness that we received in this house, especially after our sad experience in Ṣīf.

609 At our departure all sorts of Malay speaking Hadjarēners endeavour to exchange a few words with the white government official from their second fatherland. And, instead of being surrounded by faces with expressions of hate and contempt, and malicious, insulting remarks about *Naṣrānīs*, who should not be allowed to pollute the land, our exodus here is a small triumphal procession, crowded round as we are by the exuberant youth of the streets, all trying to air their knowledge of the Malay language.

4. ACROSS THE NEUTRAL ZONE BETWEEN EL-QEʿĒṬĪ AND ĀL KATHĪR TERRITORY.

622 Guides of the el-ʿAṭṭās clan have offered themselves to
172 take us to el-Meshhed, the first place in the domain of the
131 Āl Kathīr, which is, however, actually under the supervision of the el-ʿAṭṭās family. Our caravan divides, as Von Wissmann, with a couple of young sayyids, the Yāfiʿ soldiers, one of our *ʿabīd* (slave soldiers), and a whole band of street-arabs sets out to ascend Djebel Hadjarēn to see whether the ruins, of which we have been told, are really to be found, to take photographs and to survey. The territory of the Qeʿēṭis ends just beyond Hadjarēn. Further up, in the midst of Ḥaḍramaut Proper, there lie, like islands, the districts of Ḥōra and el-Qaṭn-Shībām, which are subject to the Qeʿēṭī régime. The neutral zone, which we now enter, is an ideal hunting-ground for robbers and thieves.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

going to erect a house for himself here and, in accordance with the good custom, begins with the mosque. There are some fine houses in Ḥurēḍa whose owners live in Djohore, Singapore, or Java. The actual inhabitants seem to be very poor. Outside the town there are some fine date-plantations, it is true, but the total impression is one of decline. Everything that is fine and prospérous owes its existence to money that is earned abroad. The tie between a Ḥaḍramī and his birth-place is very close, and if he is doing well, he returns from time to time, and when he sees the evening of his life approaching he longs to spend it in the little mud town where he was born, and, finally, to await the Day of Resurrection in Ḥaḍramī soil, which for him is consecrated ground. This is why there are here palaces and country-seats of sayyids and mighty castles of sultans, whilst the Bedouins live in rock-caves or lean-to shelters, always on the verge of starvation, and the home-staying town-dweller does not rise beyond a very poverty-stricken existence. We are only just at the portal of actual Ḥaḍramaut and soon shall see contrasts so moving, that it will sometimes be difficult to grasp the fact that we are in a real world, and are not dreaming after reading a centuries-old story from the "Arabian Nights".

3. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE TOWN.

On May 21st we intended to see something of the surroundings of Ḥurēḍa. Therefore, we asked Sayyid ʿAlī, the Bedouin member of the el-ʿAṭṭās family, to go with us. Most sayyids are not to be tempted for walks in the country at this time of the year! At the request of some of the notables we go to a spring which flows from out the mountain-wall a mile south-west of Ḥurēḍa, just at the spot where the limestone stratum rests on sandstone. Enemy Bedouins are said to have stopped up this spring, which formerly flowed much more copiously. The foreigners, held to be so proficient in all technical matters, must say how the spring is to be put right. If there were

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

According to my informant, Ḥurēḍa has now about 2000 inhabitants. There are some 4000 people living in Java who originally came thence. During the last 20 years from 300 to 400 men have left Ḥurēḍa to try their luck in Java. The successful ones come back occasionally for short periods and then return again to their business in the Indies. When they can afford it, they send their sons to Ḥaḍramaut, where they remain for five or six years to become intimate with their family, language, religion and traditions. The daughters *never* come from Java to Ḥaḍramaut just as the women here *never* go to Java. Consequently the children born there are always of mixed race. Sayyid Ḥasan could only remember one Ḥaḍramī woman who had succeeded in carrying through her wish of accompanying her husband to Batavia. Generally the wives do not wish, nor have they the courage, to do so. I learned later on that Javanese and Chinese women are, however, brought to Ḥaḍramaut. They are said to be very much sought after as housekeepers and cooks. Purely Javanese boys, who have come to study the religion and language, are not to be found in Ḥurēḍa, and only a few in other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Ḥasan estimates the number of Ḥaḍramīs living in Hyderabad to be at least 13.000, for the greater part serving as men and officers of the *Niẓām*'s Arabian regiment. Many of the families of note here have Hyderabad officers among their ancestors.

In Shibām, Sēwūn, Terīm and ʿĒnāt there are, according to my informant, 6000 sayyids, and another 4000 in Wādī Dōʿan, Wādīʿ Amd, Wādī Rakhīya, and Djibāl Hadjaz. Three divisions of the Ḥumūmī Bedouins are sayyids. Originally their leaders were sayyids, who were gradually absorbed into the tribe of which they have come to form a part. All sayyids in Ḥaḍramaut belong to the ʿAluwī branch. The founder of the family was ʿAluwī binʿUbēd Allāh bin Aḥmed (who came from ʿIrāq) binʿĪsā bin ʿAlī el-ʿUrēḍī bin Djaʿfar eṣ-Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad el-Bāqir bin Zain el-ʿĀbidīn bin Ḥusēn bin ʿAlī bin Abī Ṭālib. In Ḥaḍramaut Proper the sayyids have still an in-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

000 then stay with him in el-Qaṭn, and, whilst there, visit with him the Ḥimyaritic antiquities in the vicinity. He will then arrange for camels and donkeys, and we shall be able to return to Makalla through Wādī Ḥuwēre in six or seven days. What Sultan ʿAlī says coincides with the advice given us by the Vizier in Makalla and represents the standpoint of el-Qeʿēṭī. We do not wish to make an immediate decision, for we should prefer to return by a different route, but, on the other hand, wish to keep open the possibility of making the return journey through Qeʿēṭī territory, so as not to cut ourselves off from the support of the authorities here.

5. SHIBĀM "EL-DJARĪMA, THE GRAND".

162 Shibām has as many as 500 towering houses and about
●167 8000 inhabitants. The number reaches 9000 if one includes
361 the whole garden suburb and the workmen's quarter outside
471 the walls of the town. There is a school with about 250 pupils, which was founded and is maintained by our hosts. In the town itself there are five large, fine mosques, almost the only low buildings and also the only entirely white ones. Outside the town, but belonging to it, there are seven more. A quarter of the masculine population is travelling constantly abroad to make money, the greater part going to Makalla and Aden. About 100 are in Java and 50 in Singapore. The Āl Ṭuwēy, for example, have house property in Singapore, Batavia and Surabaya, and when times are good they also carry on trade. Altogether about 30 households live on this family property. All the house property of the Laʿdjam brothers is at Singapore. The well-known capitalist Bā Swēdān, who is a great land-owner and has hundreds of houses in Singapore and Batavia, also comes from Shibām. Sēwūn and Terīm, however, are the centres where the Ḥaḍramīs live who have made riches in Java, and there are a great number of Dutch subjects in these towns.

000 In Shibām no poll-tax is paid by the population as is the

middle of the roof - terrace is a room, open on all sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One can see that we are nearing Terim with its refinements of civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the *ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1A] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

1A [ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin ĀL Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- ANALYST]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 M342 Hadhramaut M342

in the saddle, for the camel sees obstacles on the ground, which escape my searching eye, so that unexpected sweryes are the result. It is a fantastic and most exhausting ride, which only comes to an end when, close to the little town of ʿAmd, we reach the house in which we are to be lodged. The rest of the caravan arrives after us in dribblets, and before long we are sitting together on the spacious roof of our guest-house, onto which crowds of inquisitive folk are flocking.

Nowhere, so far, had so much Malay been spoken and nowhere was conversation so frank and open. ʿAmd appears to be a town on the decline and very poor and to suffer much from protracted warfare. This condition of things leads the young men to seek their fortunes out of the country, Java attracting the bulk of them. The consequence is that a great many wives and children remain behind in poverty. The number of boys who are sent from Java to be brought up in ʿAmd is relatively large. They can be distinguished at once from among their dirty little comrades by their better dress and greater cleanliness. They form a part of our visitors that night and begin with great boldness to talk in Malay, to show off their knowledge. These youngsters look upon their sojourn in ʿAmd as a real period of exile and pine for Java.

The discussions over plans for our further journey were disappointing. It was considered to be out of the question for us to go to Niṣāb, but they could certainly bring us to the coast towns of Bal-Ḥāf or Bīr ʿAlī. Everyone deserted us at this point, even our own Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭās, but we held on to Niṣāb. Before we retired to a roof-terrace higher up, we had Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf's letter of introduction and those from the Sultans of Sēwūn and Shibām read aloud, which made a noticeable impression. I added thereto that we were determined to go to Niṣāb and that we wished to leave on the morrow. So we bade farewell to this company, which was to carry on its consultations until deep into the night.

It is appreciably cooler at ʿAmd than it is further in Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm being the hottest place. The altitude of

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadramout MM2

vides seasonal grazing for camels, sheep, and goats.[1] Nevertheless, the Western Protectorate, where rainfall averages from about 2 inches a year on the coast to 7 inches in the uplands and 12 inches in the highlands, is self-supporting in food in normal seasons; the main crop is millet, with wheat, barley, and mustard as summer crops, and other products of importance are coffee and the drug *qat* (the chewing of which is a pernicious habit in south-west Arabia); field-terracing is general in the highlands, and elsewhere the land is mainly irrigated from wells. In the Eastern Protectorate the rainfall is lower and food has to be imported, particularly for the coastal areas and the pastoral tribes; millet is again the main cereal crop, supplemented by lucerne, tobacco, honey, and fish products; until recently most of the honey has been exported to Java, this being connected with the large-scale eastward emigration from the Hadramaut in the last 150 years. The date-palm provides the chief food product of the Hadramaut.

The estimated population of Aden Protectorate at mid-1952 was 800,000. The organization is largely tribal, consisting of some thirty sultanates, shaikhdoms, and other tribal units of varying size. During the past hundred years their rulers have one by one entered into treaty relations with the British Government and are under its protection; but British administration (through an Agent in each Protectorate, responsible to the Governor of Aden) is essentially indirect, and has grown piecemeal for the prevention of intertribal conflict in the interests of travellers and commerce. Some of the chiefs have voluntarily accepted advisory treaties binding them to administer their territories in accordance with the Governor's advice. But not all of them have complete control over their nominal subjects, and the authority of those who have not accepted advisory treaties with the Governor of Aden may be highly capricious; reference has already been made to the conduct of the important Sultan of Lahej which led to a British intervention in April 1952.[2] The most important state of the Eastern Protectorate is the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla which, like the Sultanate of Lahej, carries the title of 'His Highness' and has its own small regular army; the Quaiti

[1] See 'Banishing Famine from Aden', *Commonwealth Survey*, 14 May 1949, pp. 37–8. For the distinction between steppe and desert vegetation, see Fisher, *The Middle East*, pp. 72–3 and map, p. 70.

[2] See above, p. 103; and see generally Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Eritrea, Government Printer to the British Administration, 1949), pp. 20–32. A punitive expedition was sent to the Shairi tribe in the Western Protectorate in December 1950 after an attempt to assassinate the British Agent.

there are still slaves in the Protectorate but
sweeper class, they are not untouchables unlike the
The Arabian attitude toward the slave is not unkind: the slave has certain customary rights, and is better fed and clothed than many who are free.

These mountaineers hardly resemble the Arab of popular imagination, nor do they wear headbands and flowing robes. The Yemenite Arabs are usually of slight stature, dark-skinned and beardless, though there are so many types that it is impossible to generalise. They are a charming people, and civilised. Their condition would be much improved had they lasting peace and good government, though the complete opening-up of the country to outside influence and commerce would spell disaster for an economic system which has worked with success for two or three thousand years. To an ever-increasing degree the Protectorate and South Yemen have become economically dependent on the port of Aden. Labour is drawn from the up-country villages. The villager will go to Aden and earn £1 : 10 : 6 a month at coolie work, live on 7s. 6d. out of that sum, and save the rest to return to his village. There he will remain until necessity drives him to earn more. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Aden must be composed of these floating elements of population.

Internally the motor-lorry has made communications between the towns much easier; the aeroplane, too, has made a difference to the Protectorate and is a familiar sight in some places. It is now possible to control areas with a handful of planes where formerly thousands of ground troops were necessary to penetrate.

The Turkish mosque in San'a, capital of the Yemen

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramout MM2

ADEN PROTECTORATE

PART IV

Chapter 1: General Review

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

THE poor rainfall of 1948 was repeated in 1949 ; but the rains of 1950 were in almost all areas exceptionally good and the economic situation is generally better than it has been for a long period. The new forms of administration in Shaib and Beihan progressed slowly but satisfactorily and up to the end of the period the political situation was generally improved, especially in Lower Yafa'i, where more friendly relations were restored between Government and the Sultan. At the very end of the period, on Christmas Eve, the attempted assassination of the British Agent in Shairi country in the Amiri State made a punitive expedition necessary ; but order was being restored by the end of 1950.

In August, 1949, Yemeni troops began to build a fort on Protectorate soil near Najd Marqad in Beihan State. It was eventually found necessary to destroy this fort by air action. This serious incident resulted in an Anglo-Yemeni conference in London in the autumn of 1950 for the purpose of discussing a means of finally clearing away points of misunderstanding between the two Governments.

A number of clashes made it necessary to re-enter the northern part of the lower Awlaqi State. Order was restored by the end of 1950 with a show of force but no actual fighting.

It is hoped that the erection of a fort, now completed, on the main road will put a final stop to trade route incidents in Qutebi country.

A large number of Jews passed through the Protectorate on their way to Aden to be flown to Israel. This operation passed off without a single incident in which a Jew suffered any physical harm.

The development of the Abyan scheme greatly raised the revenues of the Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i states and social services are improving as a result.

EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

Political

The settlement of the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary dispute and the general prevalence of peace in tribal areas and throughout the country allowed efforts to be concentrated on development of agriculture and improvement of the administrative machinery.

More responsibility was given to Naibs (local Arab District Com-

?: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Heathrow set MM2

Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the
167 Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. All the Jews in Wahidi State emigrated to Israel in 1950, and there are now no Jews in the Eastern Protectorate.

Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½. Working hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March.
467 There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western Aden Protectorate's expenditure for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

	1949–50	1950–51
	£	£
Staff and Miscellaneous	45,313	64,026
Government Guards (includes Wireless Telegraphy establishment)	60,754	75,051
Subsidies to local forces	5,257	3,638
Medical	6,964	7,005
Education	3,030	3,926
Aden Protectorate College	3,614	3,681
Agriculture	10,245	11,172
	135,177	168,499

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 M041 Aden
Hadhramaut MMS

PART V

Chapter 1: Population

161 THE population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. There are no
• 167 Jews now in the Eastern and Western Protectorates as they have all emigrated to Israel.

Chapter 2: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from *Shs.*1.50 to *Shs.*3 per day. Working
467 hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably shorter from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 3: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of Her Majesty's Government's expenditure in the Protectorates for the years 1951–52 and 1952–53:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

	1951–52	1952–53
	£	£
Staff and Miscellaneous . . .	40,706	51,054
Government Guards (including W/T establishments)	68,602	84,858
Subsidies to Local Forces . .	3,411	2,801
Health	7,315	16,110
Education	3,213	7,753
Aden Protectorate College . .	2,229	—
Agriculture	10,158	14,083
	135,624	176,659

63:Documents on at G-S (1941-1951) 1864
M1 Middle East

lying fishing villages on the coast and the second peninsula of Little Aden.

The Protectorate population is not accurately known, but estimates for 1948 place the total for Western Aden Protectorate at about 150,000, and for Eastern Aden Protectorate at 300,000. The local governments are tribal, and range in organization from sultanates to smaller autonomous units of varying size and complexity. The principal state in the western protectorate is the Abdali Sultanate of Lahej, with its capital in the oasis town of Lahej, about 20 miles inland from Aden. The Qu'aiti Sultanate of Makalla and Shihr and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra are the largest and the most influential states in the east. Probably about three quarters of the inhabitants in Eastern Aden Protectorate dwell in the Hadhramaut, the region of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the adjacent coastlands. The term is often loosely applied to the entire central portion of the Protectorate, but politically it is restricted to the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri Sultanates. Several notable and important towns are found on the slopes of the Wadi Hadhramaut and the connecting valleys, while Makalla, the seat of government of the Qu'aiti, and Ash Shihr are prominent ports on the eastern coast. In addition to the settled peoples, numerous nomadic Bedouin tribes roam the steppes with their flocks. The residence of the Mahri Sultan is on Socotra, a rocky island with a population of about 3,000.

The inhabitants of the Protectorate are mainly of south Arabian stock, but Malay admixtures are encountered in many parts of the Hadhramaut. Small colonies of Indians and Somalis are settled along the coast. Jewish communities of ancient origin are located in scattered villages in the western highlands and the Hadhramaut. They totaled only about 1,500 in 1948, and their numbers have since been depleted by emigration to Israel. The Hadhramis have long tended to emigrate to the islands of southeastern Asia, to East Africa and to countries bordering on the Red Sea, and many sub-

63 Simmons et al G-8 (1941-1961) 1964
MI Middle East
ADEN MAP
HADHRAMAUT MAP

[102 361]

sequently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 20 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

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though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

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urban communities in the Middle East. Pulmonary infections predominate, but other forms of the disease are also observed.

Tuberculosis is widespread in the immigrant populations in Aden, as shown by the fact that 58 to 70 per cent of the cases of pulmonary tuberculosis recorded in the three years 1948-50 were in nonresidents. Among the 550 cases reported in 1950, Aden was the place of origin in 152, Yemen in 193, Western Aden Protectorate in 99, Eastern Aden Protectorate in 12, and Somaliland, India and other countries in the remainder. In the decade 1941-50, the number of deaths attributed to pulmonary tuberculosis ranged from 113 to 261 a year, with peaks of prevalance associated with large migrations of immigrants.

Although tuberculosis has long been regarded as a major cause of sickness and death in the Colony, few facilities for diagnosis and treatment existed before 1945. In that year, the health authorities initiated a campaign for the reduction of tuberculosis in all ecopomic groups of the population. The diagnostic services were reorganized and X-ray equipment provided. Special wards were also added to the civilian hospitals; the number of beds available for the treatment of tuberculosis was increased from 18 in 1945 to 150 in 1951. As a further preventive measure, a program of supervised domiciliary treatment was introduced in 1947 to furnish care to persons who could not be hospitalized.

Following the organization of the anti-tuberculosis campaign, there was a decrease in the specific death rates from around 29.3 per 10,000 population in the period 1931-44 to 11.3 in 1950. In the latter year, the corrected rate for the local population alone was 8.4 per 10,000. A tuberculin testing and BCG inoculation program was planned for 1952 by the Medical and Health Department, in co-operation with the World Health Organization.

Smallpox. In spite of the fact that localized epidemics of smallpox are recurrent in the Protectorate, no outbreaks have been

reported from the Colony of Aden since 1929. A few cases are treated almost every year in the Colony hospitals, but, with rare exceptions, they have occurred among immigrant families or among persons arriving from other ports. Vaccination against smallpox is compulsory for all residents of the Colony. In addition, intensive revaccination campaigns are undertaken by the health authorities whenever cases are discovered, or when outbreaks are reported from adjacent areas, as at the time of the epidemic in Mukalla in 1949. Although visitors to the Colony are required to possess valid certificates of vaccination, enforcement is sometimes difficult because of the large numbers of dhows and other small vessels which ply between Aden and Indian or African ports. Vaccination posts are established along the land frontiers on caravan routes from Yemen and Western Aden Protectorate, at which immigrants are examined, and, if necessary, vaccinated.

Other Infections. Pneumonia is widespread, ranking among the leading causes of death in both the Colony and the Protectorate. The fatality rate among the immigrant community in the Colony is unusually high, since many of the individuals who flock to the port in search of work or medical attention arrive in a debilitated condition. Sporadic cases of diphtheria are reported each year from the Colony. Chickenpox, measles, mumps and poliomyelitis are endemic. Localized outbreaks of meningococcus meningitis are recorded occasionally.

Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

Venereal Diseases. All forms of venereal diseases are observed among the civilian populations in Aden Colony. Syphilis and gonorrhea are reportable, but the statistics probably fail to give a true picture of the relative frequency of the different venereal infections. In 1948 and 1949, following the inauguration of a campaign for better re-

73 per cent in Shoqra. In most localities, the infection rates ranged from 27 to 88 per cent among children under 15 years of age and from zero to 48 per cent in persons over 15 years of age. The Fadhli and the Abdali tribal districts were the most seriously affected regions visited.

Diseases of the Skin. Favus, ringworm and other mycotic skin infections are widely distributed. Madura foot is common in the Protectorate, and cases are seen in the Colony hospitals each year among patients from the interior. Phagedenic ulcers are responsible for considerable disability among laborers in the Colony and in all parts of the Protectorate. Several thousand cases are treated each year in the hospitals and the dispensaries in Aden Colony, where they are usually designated as "Yemen ulcers." The ankle is the most frequent site of infection, and amputation is often necessary in neglected cases.

Scabies and impetigo are prevalent, especially among the children of inland towns and villages who live under congested, insanitary conditions. By contrast, surprisingly few cases of scabies are encountered among the children seen in the schools in Aden township.

Leprosy. Leprosy is endemic in the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been reported from the Colony within recent years. The infection is probably not extensive, although foci of the disease are known to exist in the Hadhramaut and in the Lahej, the Dhala' and the Abyen areas in the western protectorate. As lepers are not discriminated against socially, some difficulty is encountered in controlling the movement of infected individuals in the Colony. A small leper hospital is located at Sheikh Othman: it receives patients not only from Aden territory but also from Yemen. Eighteen of the 29 patients in residence in 1939[18] were open nodular or lepromatous cases.

Other Infections. Tetanus is endemic, but reported cases are rare.

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year for evidence of plague. The disease has not been reported from the Protectorate. A 744

Other Infections. Localized outbreaks of louse-borne relapsing fever have been recorded from the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been encountered in Aden. Cases of relapsing fever were frequently discovered at the time of the typhus outbreaks in 1944-45. H A 164

Occasional cases of kala-azar are seen in the Colony hospitals, usually among immigrants from Yemen. Two cases, in which the diagnosis of kala-azar was confirmed by spleen puncture, were recently reported from the Civil Hospital.[39] Both originated in southern Yemen, one from the vicinity of Ta'izz and the other from a village near the border of Western Aden Protectorate. Sporadic cases of Oriental sore are also treated in Aden, but the extent of infection in the interior is uncertain. H A 167 164

Cases suspected of being sandfly fever are common. The vector, *Phlebotomus papatasii*, is widely distributed. Guinea worm infection is endemic in the Hadhramaut and in certain coastal districts in the Protectorate. Imported cases are often observed in Aden Colony. Travelers from endemic centers in Africa thought to be suffering from yellow fever are sometimes admitted to the Colony hospitals, but no indigenous cases have been reported.

Nutritional Diseases

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Undernutrition is prevalent, particularly among the immigrant laborers in Aden and the poorer villagers and the Bedouin in the interior. Few studies of the prevalence of nutritional diseases have been made, but, in view of the inadequate diet of large sections of the population, deficiency conditions are probably numerous, particularly as regards protein and vitamins C, A and riboflavin of the B complex. Rickets is common in the Protectorate, while minor symptoms of the disease were detected in 17 per cent of 264 schoolchildren examined in Aden township in 1945. Spongy gums, gingivitis and other signs of vitamin C de- A H 146 164

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